

Abert de Vertot d'Auberg (R.)

578

R. THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REVOLUTIONS
IN
PORTUGAL,
BEING

An Enlargement of an Account formerly Publish'd of the Revolution there in the Year 1640; and now review'd, the History taken higher, and deduc'd to the Year 1669.

*By the Abbot de VERTOT,
Of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions
and Medals, at Paris.*

Translated from the *French*.

L O N D O N:

Printed for S^AM. BUCKLEY, in *Little-Britain*. 1712.

R. i 18

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REVOLUTIONS



3 Li

By the Abbé de Vertot
Of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions
and Medals in Paris.

Translated from the French.

LONDON
Printed for S. M. B. Baker, in Pall-mall.
Baker, 1712.

[i]

THE
PREFACE.

THE Author of the following History, having formerly written an Account of the Revolution in Portugal in the Year 1640, has lately resum'd a Subject which he had before executed only in part; and has extended it by so many Additions and Enlargements, that this Piece publish'd at Paris this present Year 1711, is in reality a new Work, twice as large as the former. In this he has trac'd the Beginning of the Portugal Monarchy, and taken in the most material part of its History preceding the Usurpation of the Spaniards, which gave Occasion afterwards to the memorable Revolution in 1640; and has likewise continu'd the Thread of the Story to another Revolution no less remarkable, which happen'd in less than thirty Years afterwards.

The Affairs treated of in this short History are important, and the Narration clear, judicious, and elegant. The Author appears to have thoroughly understood his Subject,

The PREFACE.

and has shewn an admirable Capacity in bringing together all the Circumstances proper to enliven his Story, to fix the Attention of his Readers, and to give them a full and satisfactory Information.

*Besides the Writers of several Nations which he mentions before his * Book, he took care (as he says) to inform himself by Conversation with some who were Eye Witnesses of the last Revolution, and to do every thing to fulfil the Obligations of a faithful and exact Historian.*

I mention this last Passage (which is all I find material in the Preface to the Paris Edition) because it is so rare among Writers of Modern History to meet with any more than a cold and dry Narration of Facts, that some may think the Beauty of his Writing an Objection to the Fidelity of it; but this certainly is no Reason in it self, where it does not appear that Truth has been neglected for the sake of Ornament.

Among the Enlargements made to this Edition, the unfortunate History of Don Sebastian is an important Part; since his Defeat in Africa afforded an Occasion to the Spaniards to seize the Crown of Portugal in about a Year afterwards. But before the next Revolution, there was a surprizing Occurrence, which has left it doubtful in the Opinion of some, whether the Catastrophe of that

* Mariana. Hist. de Turquet. Resendius de Antiqua Lusitania. Connestag. Philip. Rex Lusit. Hist. de Portugal. par M. de la Neufville. Lusitan. Vindic. Caetan Passar. de Bello Lusitan. Portugal. restaurad. de Menefes. Siry mem. reconcond. Mercur. Franç. Troubles de Portugal. Mem. d'Ablan.

The PREFACE.

3

that young King was concluded or not at the fatal Battle of Alcazar. The Abbot de Vertot says indeed that he was kill'd. But his Body not being found in the Field, it is certain that the Portuguese for a long time expected his Return; and a Person many Tears after appear'd under his Name, with such a Series of extraordinary Circumstances, and so suitable a Behaviour, as to amuse all Europe, for a considerable time, and to give Birth to Variety of Opinions about him, according to the Diversity of Tempers, Inclinations, or Interests. The Historians accordingly, tho' they agree in the Facts, are divided in their Judgments of this Person. Vasconcellos mentions him with Confidence as the true Sebastian; Thuanus as a wonderful and even miraculous Impostor; and Mezeray with Uncertainty: And because his Story is not touch'd upon by my Author, I believe it will not be unacceptable if I give an Abstract of it here, and leave it to the Reader to draw what Conclusion from it he pleases.

***I**T was about twenty Years after the Battle of Alcazar, when a Man of a middle Age appear'd at Venice, affirming himself to be Don Sebastian, and related his pretended or real Adventures after this Manner. That after that rash Battle which gave so great a Blow, not only to the Kingdom of*

A 3

Por-

The PREFACE.

Portugal, but to the whole Christian Interest, when he was suppos'd to have been lost among the Slain, he found Means to make his Escape, and full of Shame and Anguish of Mind for his Defeat, went on board a small Vessel and pass'd to Algarve; where, having got his Wounds cured, he took a Resolution with the Duke of Avero, who was his Companion, to wear out the Memory of his Disgrace, by travelling privately into the most remote Parts of Ethiopia and other Places. That pursuant to this Resolution, he continued his Journey further into Persia, and was present in several Battles, where he had received many Wounds. After this he withdrew into a Religious Solitude, and liv'd with an old Hermit among the Georgians. That in the Year 1597 he left his Retirement and pass'd into Sicily, having sent Marcus Tullius Cotizone, of Cozenza, into Portugal, with the News of his Safety. The Messenger not returning, he went towards Rome, in order to throw himself at the Pope's Feet; but being barbarously robb'd on the Way by his Servants, he turn'd his Course to Venice.

Whatever the Republick of Venice thought of this Account, the Portuguese in that City, and among the rest † some say a Domestick of Don Sebastian's, acknowledg'd this Person to be their King. To

† Vasconcell. Hist. Portug.

The PREFACE.

V

*confirm their Belief, * he resembl'd him in his Face, and in his Body, which was somewhat shorter on the Left Side than the other. He shew'd a Scar on his Right Eyebrow, which had been noted in Don Sebastian from his Childhood, and a Wart of an unusual Size on one of his Feet; and mention'd to the Venetians some Secrets which they had formerly propos'd to that Prince; nor cou'd he after the strictest & Examination be once surpriz'd in a Contradiction. But the Spaniards being then possess'd of Portugal, were so alarm'd at this, and made such loud Complaints at Venice by their Ambassador, that he was imprison'd.*

* Thuanus Historiar. Lib. 126.

Mezeray: Hist. dans la vie de Henry 4.

The Portuguese surrounded the Prison, and demanded him with the utmost Impatience. In the Year 1601, after a Confinement of two Years, he was set at Liberty, by a Decree of the Senate, but requir'd to depart the Venetian Territories in Eight Days. His Adherents having consulted together concerning the safest Means to convey him into Portugal, dress'd him in the Habit of a Jacobin, in which Disguise he took his Way through Italy; but at Florence he was seized by the Great Duke, who fearing the Displeasure of the Spaniards, and being aw'd by a Fleet which they had on the Coast, deliver'd him up to them. From thence he was carry'd to Naples,

The PREFACE.

ples ; where the Vice-Roy caus'd him to be treated after the most ignominious Manner, as a Slave and an Impostor. His Head was shav'd, he was set on an Ass, and led through the Streets expos'd to the Insults of the Rabble ; and lastly, he was put on board a Galley, and chain'd to an Oar. The Portuguese in the mean time made loud Appeals and earnest Applications at Rome, and wherever they cou'd, to procure the Liberty of him whom they openly avow'd for their King. From Naples he was sent to Spain, and confin'd in the Castle of St. Lucar. Two Fryars were executed for negotiating his Interests ; while he himself remain'd only a Prisoner. Texera, a Dominican, went to Rome, Venice, Holland, and England, soliciting his Cause, publishing Writings in Defence of it, and spreading a Prophecy said to have been revealed to Alphonso I. that his Race shou'd not be discontinu'd from the Throne till the Sixteenth Generation, yet that God wou'd restore it in an extraordinary Manner ; which was now apply'd to Don Sebastian, who, while all suppos'd him dead, was brought as it were to Life by this wonderful Providence. To conclude, He who was the Spring of these Commotions, put a Stop to many Tragedies which began to be daily acted in Portugal on his Account, and whether by a natural or violent Death, ended

THE PREFACE.

vii

ended his Days secretly in Prison. A small Punishment, says Mezeray, if he were an Impostor, but a most cruel Injustice if Don Sebastian.

I have collected the Particulars of this remarkable Story from the three Authors before-mention'd. Whatever in Reality this unhappy Person was, the ready Inclination of the Portuguese to receive him, shew'd their strong Desire to have freed themselves from the Oppression of the Spanish Government. Accordingly about forty Tears afterwards, they appear re-assuming their Liberty with an Unanimity so general, that it looks rather like Instinct than Design; and seems to have been, not so much the slow and uncertain Result of Reason, as the Force of Nature, which keeps always a Spring ready, if not overpower'd, to rise of it self, for its own Preservation.

We are told by some that the Insurrection was so universal, that all the Places which belong'd to the Portuguese in the four Quarters of the Earth, except only the little Town of Ceuta in Africa, the Governour of which being a Spaniard was not in the Secret, shook off the Castilian Yoke in One Day. It is observable that the principal Mover, and indeed the Soul which animated this whole Affair, was a Woman. The
Duke

THE PREFACE.

Duke of Braganza, who was never distinguish'd as a Soldier, and was of a cold unattempting Disposition, ow'd his Royal Dignity chiefly to that Greatness of Mind which was so remarkable in his Wife, as did Portugal the Recovery of its natural Princes. Nor was her Wisdom less discover'd after his Decease, in preserving by the most prudent Measures, an Establishment to which she had so largely contributed. And equal to both these was her Happiness in having the Assistance of a General of the most consummate Abilities, the brave Duke Schomberg, who is mention'd with the highest Applause in the following History. It was the peculiar Merit of that great Man, to have been more than once employ'd in the Defence of Nations in Danger of losing those Liberties they had with Difficulty retriev'd; and to have compleated that Character by dying at last, full of Years and multiply'd Honours, in the same Employment, on Behalf of these Protestant Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.

THE

THE CONTENTS.

T HE <i>Ancient Accounts of Portugal.</i>	Page
Henry of Burgundy drives out the Moors, and lays the Foundation of a Kingdom.	2
Alphonso, first King of Portugal.	3
The History and Character of Don Sebastian.	4
His Expedition into Africa.	5
The heroick Bravery and Conduct of Muley Moluc.	6
Don Sebastian's Army entirely defeated.	11
Cardinal Don Henry succeeds to the Crown.	13
The different Claimants to the Succession.	14
Don Henry dies, and Philip 2d, King of Spain, possesses himself of the Crown of Portugal by Arms.	ibid
Olivarez, first Minister to Philip the 4th, treats the Portuguese as a conquer'd People.	16
Margarita of Savoy made Vice-Queen of Portu- gal, but the chief Authority committed to Miguel Vasconcellos Secretary of State.	18
The Duke of Braganza rightful Heir to the Crown.	20
His Character.	21

The CONTENTS.

<i>His Conduct to avoid giving Jealousie to the Spaniards.</i>	Page 23
<i>The People of Evora first express their Wishes for the House of Braganza.</i>	24
<i>The Duke eludes various Stratagems of the Spanish Court to draw him into their Power.</i>	25 & seq.
<i>Pinto de Ribeiro forms a Design for setting the Duke of Braganza on the Throne.</i>	31
<i>His artfull Management of this Design.</i>	ib. & seq.
<i>The Archbishop of Lisbon and several Noblemen joyn in it.</i>	34
<i>The Archbishop's Speech to them.</i>	36
<i>D'Almada and others wait on the Duke privately, and propose their Design for setting him on the Throne.</i>	43
<i>The Duke's Answer.</i>	45
<i>He Communicates the proposal to his Dutcheſs.</i>	46
<i>Her Character.</i>	ibid
<i>The Spanish Court being alarm'd at the Duke's Popularity, send for him to Madrid under specious Pretences.</i>	51
<i>His Art to amuse the Spanish Court, and to avoid going thither.</i>	53
<i>The Duke's Irresolution concerning the Design, is remov'd by the Dutcheſs.</i>	57
<i>He settles the Plan of the Revolution.</i>	58
<i>The Conspirators meet at the Palace of Braganza.</i>	62
<i>The Duke makes seeming Preparations for a Journey to Madrid.</i>	67
<i>Several Accidents alarm the Conspirators.</i>	ib. & seq.

They

The CONTENTS.

xi

the 23 for 24 nish eq. the 31 eq. men 34 36 ely, the 43 45 46 bid ke's ader 51 void 53 re- 57 58 za. 62 ney 67 & eq.	<p><i>They meet on the Day appointed for executing their Design.</i> Page 75</p> <p><i>An heroick Example of a Woman.</i> 76</p> <p><i>The Conspirators attack the Pallace of the Vice-Queen.</i> 77</p> <p><i>A Priest arm'd with a Sword and Crucifix, puts himself at their Head.</i> ibid</p> <p><i>They seize the Secretary Vasconcellos, and put him to immediate Death.</i> 80</p> <p><i>Vasconcellos's Character.</i> 81</p> <p><i>The Vice-Queen secur'd.</i> 82</p> <p><i>The Archbishop of Braga makes a desperate Attempt to rescue her.</i> 84</p> <p><i>The Spaniards in the Palace and City made Prisoners.</i> 85</p> <p><i>The Portuguese make themselves Masters of the Citadel of Lisbon.</i> 87</p> <p><i>The Archbishop of Lisbon entrusted with the Government, till the Duke of Braganza should arrive.</i> 89</p> <p><i>Mendoza and Mello go to Villaviciosa, and acquaint the Duke of Braganza of their Success.</i> 93</p> <p><i>The new King sets out for Lisbon, and is met by great Numbers of People.</i> 94</p> <p><i>He is crown'd and acknowledg'd by the States of the Kingdom.</i> 97</p> <p><i>The Queen comes to Lisbon.</i> 98</p> <p><i>An Artifice of the first Minister of Spain to break this News to King Philip.</i> 99</p> <p><i>The King of Portugal's Measures to establish himself,</i> 101</p>
---	--

The CONTENTS.

<i>A Plot form'd against him by the Archbishop of Braga.</i>	Page 104
<i>He engages several Persons in it.</i>	108
<i>And particularly the Jews.</i>	ibid
<i>The Plot discover'd.</i>	113
<i>And the Conspirators condemn'd.</i>	116
<i>A Plot form'd against Philip the 4th of Spain, between the Marquis D'Aiamonte and the Duke de Medina Sidonia, by the Instigation of the King of Portugal.</i>	120
<i>A Monk entrusted to Negeciate it.</i>	124
<i>A Castilian Prisoner at Madrid gets the Secret from the Monk,</i>	126
<i>And discovers it to the Court of Madrid.</i>	130
<i>The Duke de Medina saved by the Management of the first Minister.</i>	133
<i>A Romantick Challenge published by the Duke de Medina against the King of Portugal.</i>	139
<i>The Marquis d'Aiamonte executed at Madrid.</i>	144
<i>Don Juan, King of Portugal, dies.</i>	146
<i>His Issue.</i>	147
<i>The Wise Regency of the Queen during her Son's Minority.</i>	147
<i>She invites Count Schomberg to the Command of her Army.</i>	149
<i>The Extravagances of the young King Alphonso.</i>	152
<i>And his Brutality.</i>	153
<i>His Design to remove the Queen Mother from the Regency.</i>	155
<i>She</i>	

The CONTENTS.

xiii

<i>She resigns the Government, and dyes in a Con-</i>	<i>vent.</i>	Page 158
<i>The King's Barbarity encreases.</i>		ibid
<i>The Count de Castel Melhor his chief Minister.</i>		160
<i>A glorious Character of Count Schomberg.</i>		161
<i>King Alphonso marries the Daughter of the</i>		
<i>Duke of Nemours.</i>		164
<i>And uses her ill.</i>		165, 166.
<i>Alphonso remov'd from the Government by his</i>		
<i>younger Brother Don Pedro.</i>		170
<i>He is deserted by his Queen.</i>		171
<i>Who obtains a Divorce.</i>		172
<i>And is marry'd by the Regent Don Pedro.</i>		173
<i>Alphonso is confin'd to the Tercera Islands,</i>		174
<i>Returns to Portugal, and dyes.</i>		ibid.

ERRATA.

- P**Age 20. Line 23. for *an* read *a*.
P. 21. l. 3. for *Ministers* read *Minister*.
P. 42. l. 12. dele *without going first to the Palace*
of Braganza.
P. 141. l. 10. read *John late Duke*.
P. 171. l. 16. for *run* read *ran*.
P. 174. l. 26. read *Tercera Islands*.



THE CONTENTS

Chapter I. The Government and the People. 1-100
Chapter II. The History of the Republic. 101-200
Chapter III. The Constitution and the Laws. 201-300
Chapter IV. The Executive Department. 301-400
Chapter V. The Legislative Department. 401-500
Chapter VI. The Judicial Department. 501-600
Chapter VII. The Administration of the Government. 601-700
Chapter VIII. The Foreign Relations of the United States. 701-800
Chapter IX. The Internal Affairs of the United States. 801-900
Chapter X. The Future of the United States. 901-1000

APPENDIX

Appendix A. The History of the Republic. 1-100
Appendix B. The Constitution and the Laws. 101-200
Appendix C. The Executive Department. 201-300
Appendix D. The Legislative Department. 301-400
Appendix E. The Judicial Department. 401-500
Appendix F. The Administration of the Government. 501-600
Appendix G. The Foreign Relations of the United States. 601-700
Appendix H. The Internal Affairs of the United States. 701-800
Appendix I. The Future of the United States. 801-900



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REVOLUTIONS
IN
PORTUGAL.

Portugal is Part of that large Tract of Country included in the general Name of *Spain*; in which the greater Number of Provinces have the Title of Kingdoms: That of *Portugal* is situate West of *Castile*, and bounded by the Seas which are the most westerly of *Europe*. This small State is at the most not above a hundred and ten Leagues in Length, and fifty in its greatest Breadth: The Soil is fertile, the Air healthful, and the ordinary Heat of the Climate is qualify'd by cooling Breezes and fruitful Showers. Its Crown is hereditary, and
B the

The HISTORY of the

the Authority of the Prince absolute, who makes use of the dreaded Court of Inquisition as of his chief Engine of State. The People are full of Fire, naturally haughty and presuming, and firm Adherers to Religion, tho' rather superstitious than devout, every thing among them being accounted a Prodigy, and Heaven never failing, if you believe them, to declare in their Favour in an extraordinary Manner.

Who were the first Inhabitants of this Country is not known, tho' their Historians make them to have descended from *Tubal*: They cou'd not indeed well have gone higher, even with the Help of Fable; but every Nation has some Chimera about its Original. This is certain, that the *Carthaginians* and *Romans* disputed the Dominion of these Provinces, and possess'd them successively. The *Alani*, the *Suevi*, the *Vandals*, and all those barbarous Nations who, under the general Name of *Goths*, over-ran the Empire about the Beginning of the fifth Century, possess'd themselves of all the Parts of *Spain*. *Portugal* had sometimes its own Kings, and sometimes was united under the Dominion of the Princes of *Castile*.

'Twas

Revolutions in Portugal.

3

'Twas at the Beginning of the eighth Century, and in the Reign of Roderick, the last of the Gothick Kings, that the *Moors*, or, to speak more properly, the *Arabs*, Subjects of the Caliph *Valid-Almanzor*, pass'd over from *Africa*, and made themselves Masters of *Spain*. Count *Julian*, a Spanish Nobleman, introduc'd them and facilitated their Conquest, in Revenge for *Roderick's* having violated his Daughter. A.D. 712.

These Infidels extended their Dominion from the *Straits* to the *Pyrenees*, the Mountains of the *Asturias* being excepted, which the Christians made their Refuge under the Command of Prince *Pelagius*, who there laid the Foundation of the Kingdom of *Leon* or *Oviedo*. A.D. 717.

Portugal follow'd the Fate of the other Provinces of *Spain*, and pass'd under the Government of the *Moors*, who establish'd there several Governours, who, after the Death of the great *Almanzor*, became independent, and erected themselves into petty Sovereigns. Emulation and Difference of Interest disunited them, and Luxury and Effeminacy completed their Destruction.

Henry Count of *Burgundy*, descended from *Robert* King of *France*, drove them

The HISTORY of the

out of *Portugal* about the Beginning of the twelfth Century. This Prince, animated with the same Zeal, which in those Times form'd so many Croisados, came into *Spain* with a Design to signalize his Courage against the Infidels, and distinguish'd himself there in an extraordinary Manner. *Alphonso* the sixth, King of *Castile* and *Leon*, intrusted him with the Command of his Armys. 'Tis pretended that he defeated the *Moors* in Seventeen pitch'd Battels; and that he drove them out of one Part of *Portugal*. The King of *Castile*, to fix so great a Captain in his Interest, gave him one of his Daughters the Princess *Theresa* in Marriage, with his own Conquests for a Dowry. The Count extended them by new Victorys, form'd them into a small State, and without being King or assuming the Title, laid the Foundation of the Kingdom of *Portugal*.

His Son Prince *Alphonso* inherited his Valour and his Possessions, which he likewise increased by new Victorys. 'Tis the work of Heroes to found great Governments, and of base cowardly Spirits to destroy them. Count *Alphonso's* Soldiers, after a great Victory which he obtain'd

Revolutions in Portugal.

5

obtain'd over the *Moors*, proclaim'd him ^{1139.} King, and he left this Title to his Descendants.

The Crown had been almost 500 Years in this Prince's Family, when Don *Sebastian* ascended the Throne. He was the posthumous Son of the Prince Don *Juan*, who dy'd before his Father Don *Juan* III Son of the great King *Emanuel*.

Don *Sebastian* was scarce above ^{1557.} three Years of Age when he succeeded his Grand-Father. During his Minority, the Regency was committed to *Catharine* of *Austria*, his Grand-Mother, Daughter to *Philip* the first, King of *Castile*, and Sister of the Emperour Charles V. Don *Alexis de Menezes*, a Nobleman of singular Piety, was nominated Governour to the Prince, and Father Don *Lopez de Camara*, a Jesuit, had Charge of his Studies.

Nothing was omitted by such wise Governours to form this young Prince betimes to Piety, and to inspire him at the same Time with Sentiments full of Glory, and worthy of a Sovereign. But they carry'd these noble and Christian Views too far. *Menezes* continually

entertain'd him with the Conquests the Kings his Predecessors had made in the *Indies*, and upon the Coast of *Africa*. The Jesuit, in his Capacity, represented to him, that Kings, who hold their Crowns from God alone, ought to have no Prospects but that of establishing his Kingdom in their Dominions, and in remote Countrys where even his Name is unknown. These devout and warlike Ideas, being mingl'd together, made too great an Impression upon the Mind of a young Prince naturally impetuous and full of Fire: He talk'd of nothing but Enterprises and Plans of Conquest, and as soon as he enter'd upon the Government, began to think of carrying his Arms in Person into *Africa*. He held Conferences about it perpetually with his Officers, and often with Missionarys and others of Religious Orders, as if he intended to joyn the Name of an Apostle to the Glory of a Conquerour.

The Civil War which was kindl'd in the Kingdom of *Morocco*, appear'd to him a favourable Occasion of signaling his Zeal and his Courage. *Muley Mahamet* had succeeded *Abdala* his Father, the late King of *Morocco*: But his paternal

Revolutions in Portugal.

7

paternal Uncle *Muley Moluc*, pretended that he had ascended the Throne in his Prejudice, and contrary to the Law of the *Xeriffs*, which call'd successively to the Crown the Brothers of the King preferably to his Children. This was the Occasion of a bloody War between the Uncle and the Nephew ; *Muley Moluc*, a valiant Prince and great Politician, as well as good Captain, form'd a strong Party in the Kingdom, and gain'd three Battles against *Mahamet*, whom he drove out of his Dominions and out of *Africa*.

This Prince being dispossest'd pass'd the Sea, and came to seek protection in the Court of *Portugal*. He represented to Don *Sebastian*, that, notwithstanding his Disgrace, he had a private Reserve in his Kingdom of a numerous Party, who only waited his Return, to declare themselves. That besides, he was inform'd that *Moluc* languish'd under an incurable Distemper which wasted him insensibly : That Prince *Hamet*, *Moluc's* Brother, was in very little Esteem ; That in this Conjunction he only wanted some Troops to appear on the Frontiers ; That his Presence wou'd encourage his Subjects to declare for

The HISTORY of the

him; And that if by Don *Sebastian's* Assistance he were enabl'd to recover his Crown, he wou'd hold it in Subjection and Homage to that of *Portugal*, and had even rather see the Crown on the King of *Portugal's* Head, than upon that of an Usurper

Don *Sebastian*, whose Soul was fill'd with great Projects of Conquest, engag'd with more Ardor than Prudence, that he wou'd march to this Expedition in Person. He caress'd the Moorish King after the most extraordinary Manner, and promis'd to restore him to his Kingdom, at the Head of all the Forces of *Portugal*. He flatter'd himself with the Hopes of fixing the Cross in a little time upon the Mosques of *Morocco*. The wisest of his Council in vain endeavour'd to divert him from so rash an Enterprize. His Zeal, his Courage, that Presumption which is the ordinary Fault of Youth, and frequently that of Kings, joyn'd with Flatterers, the inseparable Attendants of a Court, all entertain'd him with nothing but Visions of easy and glorious Victorys. In short, being possess'd with his own Sense, he was deaf to all that his Ministers were able to represent; and, as if the Sovereign Power conferr'd

Revolutions in Portugal.

9

a Sovereignty of Reason, he cross'd the Sea, contrary to the Advice of his Council, and with an Army of scarce 13000 Men undertook to dethrone a potent King, and the greatest Captain of *Africa*.

Moluc, being advertis'd of his Designs and of his Embarkation, expected him at the Head of all the Forces of his Kingdom. He had a Body of 40000 Horse, the most part old disciplin'd Troops, but which were more formidable by the Capacity and Experience of the Prince who commanded them, than even by their own Valour. As to his Infantry, he had scarce Ten thousand regular Men, and made no great account of that numerous Rabble of *Alarbs* and Militia which ran in to his Aid, but were fitter to pillage than fight, and always ready to fly, or to declare for the Victor.

Moluc omitted not to make the proper Use of them to draw on the Christian Army. These Infidels being spread thro' the Country, were continually patrolling and skirmishing in sight of the Camp, and had private Orders to fly before the *Portuguese*, that they might draw them from the Sea-side where they were

The HISTORY of the

were intrench'd, and by a feign'd Fear humour the Confidence and Temerity of *Don Sebastian*. This Prince, more brave than wise, when he saw every day that the Moors durst not stand before his Troops, drew them out of their Intrenchments and march'd against *Moluc* as to a certain Victory. The barbarian King at first retir'd, as if he wou'd have avoided coming to a decisive Action; he suffer'd but few Troops to appear, and caus'd several Proposals to be made to *Don Sebastian*, as if he were diffident of his Forces and of the Success of this War. The King of *Portugal*, who imagin'd it wou'd be more difficult to engage the Enemy then to conquer them, was eager in the Pursuit; but as soon as *Moluc* saw him at a Distance from the Sea and his Fleet, he halted in the Plain, and drew out that great Body of his Cavalry in the Form of a Crescent, in Order to inclose the whole Christian Army. He had posted his Brother Prince *Hamet* at the Head of them; but distrusting his Courage, he told him, he ow'd this Command to his Birth; that, if he were Coward enough to fly, he wou'd strangle

Revolutions in Portugal.

11

strangle him with his own Hands, and that he must either conquer or die.

He had his own Death in view, and found himself so weak by his Distemper, that he did not doubt this Day wou'd be his last; he therefore omitted nothing to render it the most beautiful of his Life. He drew out his Army himself in order of Battle, and gave all Commands with as much Application and Exactness as if he had been in perfect Health. He carry'd his Forecast even to Events which might happen after his Death; and commanded the Officers who stood around him, that if he dy'd during the Engagement they shou'd carefully conceal it; that they shou'd feign to come for Orders, to keep the Soldiers in heart; and that his Aydes de Camp should come up to his Litter as usually. To conclude, he made himself be carry'd thro' all the Ranks of the Army, and both by his Presence and Speeches animated the Moors to fight gallantly for the Defence of their Religion and their Country.

The Fight began on both Sides by a Discharge of the Artillery; the two Armies joyn'd soon after with great Fury, and came to a general Engagement. The
Christi-

Christian Foot, animated by the Behaviour of their King, quickly made that of the Moors give Way, which was compos'd chiefly of those *Alarbs* and Vagabonds before mention'd. The Duke *d'Aveiro* likewise push'd a Body of Horse which oppos'd him, and penetrated to their Centre just where the King of *Morocco* was; who seeing his Men fly in Disorder before a victorious Enemy, threw himself out of his Litter, transported with Rage, and tho' he was dying woud rally them himself, and lead them on to renew the Charge. His Officers endeavour'd in vain to stop him; he forc'd them with his Sword to give him Way; but his small Remains of Strength being spent by these Efforts, he fainted in the Arms of his Attendants: They replac'd him in his Litter, where immediately laying his Finger on his Mouth, as it were to enjoin them Secrecy, he dy'd before they cou'd carry him to his Tent.

His Death was unknown to either Army. The Christians hitherto seem'd to have the Advantage; but the Moorish Cavalry, which had form'd a large Semi-circle, closing gradually at each End, at last quite surrounded Don *Sebastian's*
little

Revolutions in Portugal.

13

little Army. After which the *Portuguese* Horse were attack'd on all Sides, and, being oppress'd by Numbers, as they retreated, broke their own Infantry, and fill'd them too with Fear, Disorder, and Confusion.

The Moors fell in, Sword in hand, among these broken Battallions, and found it easy to rout Forces which were in a Surprise, and already overcome by a general Terror. After this it was rather a Slaughter than a Fight: Some fell on their Knees and begg'd Quarter, others endeavour'd to escape by Flight; but being enclos'd on all Sides, they every where met the Enemy and certain Death. The imprudent Don *Sebastian* perish'd in this Action; but whether it happen'd by his not being known amidst the Confusion of a Flight, or that he threw away his Life in a Resolution not to survive so many Persons of Quality and Distinction whom he had led to their Destruction, is uncertain. *Muley Mahamet*, the Author of this War, fled to save himself, but was drown'd in passing the River *Mucazen*. Thus in one Day fell three great Princes, tho' each in a different Manner; *Muley Moluc* by a Disease,

Aug. 4.
1578.

The HISTORY of the
Disease, *Mahamet* by Water, and *Don*
Sebastian by the Sword.

The Cardinal *Don Henry*, his great Uncle, succeeded him : He was Brother to *Juan III*, *Sebastian's* Grandfather, and Son of King *Emanuel*. But this Prince being a Priest, and likewise infirm, and more than sixty seven Years of Age, those who made Pretensions to the Crown consider'd it on his Head as only in trust, and each endeavour'd to prevail with him to declare in his Favour.

The Claimants were very numerous, and the greater Part the Descendants of King *Emanuel*, tho' in different Degrees. *Philip II*, King of Spain, *Catharine* of Portugal Wife of *Don Diego* Duke of *Braganza*, the Dukes of *Savoy* and of *Parma*, and *Anthony* Grand Prior of *Crato*, omitted nothing to make good their Claims. Several Pieces were publish'd in the Names of these Princes, in which the Lawyers endeavour'd to state the Order of Succession, according to the Interests of those who employ'd them.

Philip was Son to the Infanta *Isabella*, eldest Daughter of King *Emanuel*; the Dutchess of *Braganza* descended from Prince *Edward* Son of the same *Emanuel*;
manuel;

Revolutions in Portugal.

15

nuel; the Duke of *Savoy* was Son of the Princess *Beatrix*, younger Sister of the Empress; and the Duke of *Parma's* Mother was *Mary of Portugal*, younger Daughter of Prince *Edward*, and Sister of the Dutchess of *Braganza*: The Grand Prior was natural Son of *Lopez Duke of Beja*, second Son of King *Emanuel*, and *Violante de Gomez*, call'd the *Pelican*, one of the most beautiful Persons of her Time, and whom *Anthony* her Son pretended the Prince had privately marry'd. *Catharine of Medicis* likewise enter'd the Lists, and laid Claim to this Crown as Issue of *Alphonso III. King of Portugal*, and of *Mathilda Countess of Bologna*. The Pope too wou'd make some Advantage of the King's having been a Cardinal, as if the Crown had been a Benefice devolv'd on the Court of *Rome*. Little Regard was had to these distant Pretensions, which for the most Part wanted Force to make them valid.

It appear'd plainly that this great Succession principally regarded the King of *Spain* and the Dutchess of *Braganza*. This Lady was belov'd by the *Portuguese*. Her Husband was descended, tho' not in a direct Line, from the Kings of *Portugal*; and she asserted her own Right to the Crown

Crown as a native of *Portugal*, and because by the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom foreign Princes stood excluded. *Philip* agreed to a Rule which excluded the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Parma*, but pretended that a King of *Spain* cou'd not be held a Foreigner in *Portugal*, especially since this small Realm had been more than once under the Kings of *Castile*. They had each their Partisans. The Cardinal-King was besieg'd by their Sollicitations, but durst not meddle in this important Affair, and probably was not well pleas'd to hear such frequent Discourse about his Successor. He was willing to live and reign, and left to a Junto the examining the Rights of the Pretenders, which he judg'd ought not to be decided till after his Death.

1580

This Prince reign'd but a Year and five Months. His Death fill'd *Portugal* with Troubles and Division. Every one chose his Party among the Pretenders according to his Inclination; the most Indifferent waited the Decision of the Junto which the late King had establish'd by his Will for this Purpose: But *Philip*, who knew that such great Interests are not determin'd by Lawyers, sent a powerful Army into *Portugal* under the famous

Revolutions in Portugal.

17

mous Duke of *Alva*, who soon decided the Cause in his Favour.

There was no Prospect of the Duke of *Braganza's* putting himself into a Condition of supporting his Claim by Arms. The Grand Prior alone made all his Efforts to oppose the *Castilians*. The Populace had proclaim'd him King, and he bore the Title as if he had receiv'd it from the States of the Realm. His Friends rais'd some Troops in his Favour, but the Duke of *Alva* cut them to Pieces. Every thing gave Way before so great a Soldier: The *Portuguese*, not well united, destitute of Generals, and without regular Troops, or any Force besides their natural Hatred of the *Castilians*, were defeated on several Occasions. The greater Part of the Towns made Capitulations, for fear of being plunder'd. *Philip* was acknowledg'd the lawful Sovereign, and took Possession ^{1581.} of the Kingdom as Nephew in the second Descent and Heir of the late King, tho' he thought the Right of Conquest most to be depended upon. 'Twas this at least which regulated his Conduct, and that of his Successor; for *Philip III.* and *Philip IV.* his Son and Grandson, treated the *Portuguese* more like a People subdu'd

subdu'd by Arms, than like natural Subjects. Thus was this Kingdom insensibly made a Province of *Spain*, as it had been formerly, without any Appearance of the Peoples being in a Condition to attempt to break the *Castilian* Yoke. The *Grande*s durst not appear in their proper Splendor, nor assert the Prerogatives of their Rank, for fear of giving Umbrage to the *Spanish* Ministers, at a Time when being rich, or esteem'd on the Account of Birth or Merit, was enough to expose any one to Suspicion and Persecution. The Nobility were in a manner banish'd to their Seats in the Country, and the People oppress'd with Taxes.

1640.

The Duke *d'Olivarez*, first Minister of *Philip IV.* King of *Spain*, was of Opinion, that new Conquests cou'd not be too much weaken'd. He knew that, notwithstanding any Measures that cou'd be taken, the Government of the *Spaniards* wou'd, by an ancient and as it were natural Antipathy, be always odious to the *Portuguese*: That they cou'd not without Indignation see the Employments and Places of Authority fill'd with Strangers, or Persons of the meanest Original, who had no other Merit than that of being absolutely devoted to the Court. He therefore

Revolutions in Portugal.

19

therefore thought to have secur'd his Master's Dominion by leaving the Grantees out of all Office, by keeping the Nobility excluded from Affairs, and reducing the People by Degrees to such Poverty, that it shou'd be out of their Power to attempt any Change. Besides, he drew out the Youth of the Kingdom, and the Men fit to bear Arms, and oblig'd them to serve in foreign Wars, least such unquiet Spirits shou'd disturb the Tranquility of the Government.

But these Politicks, which, carry'd to a certain Point, might have answer'd his Design, had a quite contrary Effect by being push'd too far, as well by the Necessity of Affairs in which the Court of Spain was at that Time, as by the Character of the first Minister, who was naturally severe and inflexible. No Measures were now kept with Portugal, nor did the Court condescend even to use the ordinary Pretexts for exacting Money from the People. It seem'd more like raising Contributions in an Enemy's Country, than levying a lawful Tax among Subjects; so that the Portuguese having nothing more to lose, and no Prospect of an End, or any Alleviation of their Miseries, except in a Revolution of

the State, began to think of freeing themselves from a Government which they had always look'd upon as unjust, and which was grown tyrannical and insupportable.

1640.

Margarita of Savoy, Dutches of Mantua, govern'd Portugal at that Time in Quality of Vice-Queen: But this was no more than a gay Title, to which the Court had annex'd a Power very narrow and confin'd. The Secret of Affairs, and almost the whole Authority, were in the Hands of *Miguel Vasconcellos* a Portuguese, who exercis'd the Office of Secretary of State to the Vice-Queen, but was in Effect a Minister absolute and independent. He receiv'd Orders directly from the Duke d'Olivarez, whose Creature he was, and to whom he had made himself both agreeable and necessary, by a peculiar Art he had of drawing continually large Sums from Portugal; besides, by an Genius of intriguing which gave Success to his most secret Designs, he kindled Hatred and Enmity among the Grandees, which he dextrously fomented by Favours and affected Distinctions, which flatter'd those who receiv'd them the more, by raising the Spight and Jealousy of others. These

Divisions

Revolutions in Portugal.

21

Divisions among the Families of the first Rank, confirm'd the Safety and Repose of the Ministers, who concluded that while the Heads of those Families were busy in pursuing their particular Quarrels and Revenge, they wou'd find no Leisure for any Thought of attempting against the Government.

There was but one Person in *Portugal* who cou'd give any Apprehension to the *Spaniards*, and that was Don *Juan* Duke of *Braganza*. This Prince was naturally of a soft Disposition, agreeable, but somewhat slothful; his Sense rather just than sprightly. He always reach'd the principal Point in Affairs, and had an easy Penetration in Business to which he apply'd himself, but did not much care for Application. His Father Duke *Theodosius*, who was by Constitution impetuous and full of Fire, had endeavour'd to leave him, as it were by Inheritance, all his Hatred against the *Spaniards*; and had made him always look upon them as Usurpers of a Crown which belong'd to him. He had done his utmost to inspire him with all the Ambition a Prince shou'd have who might hope to recover his Crown, and with all the Ardor and

C 3

Courage

Courage necessary to so great and hazardous an Undertaking.

Don *Juan* had taken the Impression of his Father's Sentiments, but in such a Degree only as his indolent and moderate Temper allow'd. He hated the *Spaniards*, but not enough to take much Pains to be reveng'd of them. He had Ambition, and did not despair of ascending the Throne of his Ancestors, but was not so impatient for it as Duke *Theodosius* had appear'd to be. He contented himself with not losing Sight of this Design, without risking, for a Crown which was uncertain, an agreeable Life and one of the compleatest and most splendid Fortunes that a single Person cou'd desire.

It is probable that if he had been exactly such as his Father wish'd, he wou'd not have been of a proper Character to arrive at what he propos'd. The Duke *d'Olivarez* took Care to have him so narrowly watch'd, that if his idle and voluptuous Life had been an Artifice only, it wou'd soon have been discover'd, and there had been an End of his Tranquillity and Fortune. The Court of *Spain* wou'd never have tolerated one so powerful,

erful, nor have suffer'd him to pass his Life in the Midst of his own Country.

The finest Policy in the World cou'd not have taught him a wiser Conduct towards the *Spaniards*, than that he observ'd from his natural Inclination. His Birth, his great Riches, and the Right he had to the Crown, were not indeed Crimes; but, according to the Rules of Politicks, he was Criminal enough by being Formidable. He perceiv'd it, and knew he had but one way to take, and That he pursu'd as well by Inclination as Reason. To lessen his Crime, that is to make himself less apprehended, it was necessary he shou'd not meddle in any Affairs, and that he shou'd be and appear wholly employ'd in his Diversions and Pleasures. He play'd this Part to Perfection. At *Villaviciosa*, the ordinary Residence of the Dukes of *Braganza*, nothing was seen but Hunting Matches, Feasts, and such Company as cou'd relish and improve all the Pleasures of a delicious Country. In short, it seem'd as if Nature and Fortune had conspir'd, one to furnish him with Qualities proportion'd to the Conjunction of Affairs in those Times, and the other to dispose Affairs in such a Man-

ner, as shou'd raise the Value of his natural Qualities. In Effect, they were not so bright as to give any Apprehension to the *Spaniards* that he wou'd one Day attempt to make himself King; Yet they were solid enough to give the *Portuguese* Hopes of a gentle wife and moderate Government, if they wou'd attempt to make him their Sovereign.

His Conduct cou'd not raise the least Suspicion; but an Affair which happen'd some Time before, and in which he had no Hand, had begun to render him somewhat suspected by the chief Minister. The People of *Evora*, being driven to Despair by some new Impositions, made an Insurrection, and in the Height of their Fury, among many Complaints against the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*, some of the warmest of them cou'd not forbear expressing their Wishes in publick for the House of *Braganza*. This was a Conviction, tho' of the latest, how much *Philip II* had overlook'd his true Interest, by leaving, in the midst of a Kingdom newly conquer'd, a Family so wealthy, and whose Rights to the Crown were so conspicuous.

This Consideration determin'd the Council of *Spain* to make sure of the Duke

Duke of *Braganza*, or at least to remove him from *Portugal*. At first they offer'd him the Government of the *Milaneze*; which he declin'd, alledging that he wanted Health and had not Knowledge enough of the Affairs of *Italy*, to acquit himself well of so difficult and important an Employment.

The Minister made a Shew of ap-^{May, 1640.} proving his Reasons, but sought after a new Expedient to draw him to Court. The Journey the King was oblig'd to take to the Frontiers of *Arragon*, furnish'd him with a Pretext. He wrote to desire him to come, at the Head of the Nobility of his Country, and joyn the *Castilian* Troops in an Expedition which must prove Glorious, and in which the King wou'd command in Person. But the Duke, being upon his Guard against every thing which came from the Court, easily unravell'd this Artifice, and excus'd himself under Colour of the great Expence his Birth and Quality wou'd oblige him to, and which, he said, he was not in a Condition to support.

This double Refusal began to alarm the Minister: Whatever Idea he had form'd to himself of the sedate and peaceable

peaceable Temper of the Duke of *Braganza*, he was afraid he had been made sensible of the Right he had to the Crown, and that the Temptation of reigning might prevail over his natural Inclination to Tranquillity. Being convinc'd therefore of what Importance it was that the King shou'd make himself Master of the Duke's Person, he neglected nothing to obtain this End; but it being dangerous at that Time to use open Violence, because of the great Affection the *Portuguese* always had for the House of *Braganza*, he resolv'd to blind him with Civilities, and draw him into the Snare by all the Appearances of a sincere Friendship and intire Trust.

France and *Spain* were now at War. The French Fleet had appear'd upon the Coast of *Portugal*: This furnish'd the Minister with a fair Pretext for his Designs. A General was wanting to command the Troops in this Kingdom, which were design'd for the Defence of the Coasts where the French might be able to make Descents. He sent the Duke a Commission, attended with so many Advantages, and with so absolute an Authority, either to fortify Towns as occasion might require, or to change the Garrisons

Garrisons, and employ the Ships which were in Harbour, that he seem'd to have deliver'd the Kingdom intirely into his Possession: But the Snare was the same, tho' more artfully hid. He had sent at the same time private Orders to Don *Lopez Ozorio*, who commanded the Spanish Fleet, to put in to any Port where he suppos'd he might find the Duke, as if he had been driven in by Storm while he was cruising in those Seas; then the *Spaniard* was to draw him on board his Fleet, by making some Entertainment for him, and to carry him away immediately to *Spain*. But Providence dispos'd it otherwise: The Spanish Admiral was surpriz'd by a Violent Tempest, in which several of his Ships were lost, and the rest dispers'd, without his being able to get ashore in *Portugal*.

The Duke *d'Olivarez* was not discourag'd by this ill Success. He imputed to Chance and Accident this Deliverance of the Duke of *Braganza*, who in all Appearance cou'd not have prevented his being seiz'd, if Don *Lopez* had been able to land in *Portugal* as he had projected. He turn'd his Artifice another Way, and wrote to
this

The HISTORY of the

this Prince in Terms of the most un-
reserv'd Confidence, as if he shar'd with
him the Government of the State. In
his Letter he express'd himself concern'd
for the Ill Fortune of the Fleet, at a
Time when the Enemy was much to be
fear'd; that since this Security was re-
mov'd from the Coast of *Portugal*, it was
the King's desire that he wou'd parti-
cularly visit and survey all the Places and
Ports of the Kingdom, where the French
might be able to make any Insult; and
that he sent him at the same time an
Order for 40000 Ducats to raise new
Troops, if there were occasion, and to
defray the Expences of his Travelling.
In the mean time the Governours of
the Citadels, who were for the most part
Spaniards, had private Orders to sieze
him, if they found an opportunity, and
to send him away immediately to *Spain*.

The Duke of *Braganza*, finding all
these Marks of Confidence too extrava-
gant, and too little conformable to the
ordinary Conduct of the Minister to
be sincere, grew suspicious of them, and
caught him in his own Snare. He
wrote to assure him, that he very joy-
fully accepted the Post of General
which the King was pleas'd to confer on
him,

him, and hop'd by his Application and Zeal for his Service, to justify his Choice and appear not unworthy of so great an Honour. In the mean time, as he began to have a nearer Prospect of the possibility of his ascending the Throne of his Ancestors, he made Use of the Power he had by his Commission, to introduce his Friends into Employments and Places in which they might one Day be more Useful to him. He expended the Spanish Money in procuring to himself new Creatures and Dependents; and when he made his Circuits, he took Care to be always so strongly attended, that he disappointed the Hopes they had to make themselves Masters of his Person.

The great Authority which was granted to him, occasion'd loud Murmurs at the Court of *Spain*. The Courtiers not entering into the Minister's Reasons, which were only known to the King, endeavour'd to bring his Conduct into Suspicion, because he was related to the House of *Braganza*. They said it was imprudent to entrust the whole Authority of General of the *Portuguese* Troops, to a Man who might have too high Pretensions to the Crown. That it was to arm his Claim, and tempt him
to

to turn his Power against his Sovereign. But the King was the more confirm'd in his Resolution, while he observ'd how wide they were from discovering his Secret. Thus the Duke of *Braganza*, by the Advantage of his new Employment, took a free Progress thro' all *Portugal*, and in this Journey laid the first Foundation of his Greatness. He had a magnificent Equipage, which attracted the Eyes of the Multitude wherever he pass'd. He gave Audience to all People with great Affability ; he check'd the Insolence of the Soldiers, and at the same Time loaded the Officers with Praises, whom he engag'd in his Interest by all the Rewards and Encouragement he had to bestow. His Ingenuous Manner charm'd the Nobility. He treated every one of them with the most obliging Respect, according to his Merit and Quality. In short, he diffus'd his Bounty wheresoever he pass'd, and gain'd yet more Friends by the Favours which were expected from him, than by those he bestow'd ; insomuch that those who saw him, perswaded themselves that they only wish'd their own Happiness in wishing his Advancement.

His

His Friends in the mean Time omitted nothing to encrease his Reputation. *Pinto de Ribeiro*, Comptroler of his Household, was the Man who exerted himself the most effectually to set the Wheels in Motion, and to reduce to a certain Plan the Designs he had for his Master's Greatness. He was active, vigilant, masterly in Business, and animated with an extraordinary Zeal for the Duke's rising Power; flattering himself, no doubt, that he shou'd have a considerable Part in the Ministry, if by his Means the Crown cou'd be obtain'd. The Duke had often told him, he wou'd gladly lay hold of any Opportunity to possess himself of the Throne, but was not willing to embark in this Enterprise meerly as an Adventurer who had nothing to lose; that in the mean Time he might be always practising upon Tempers, and gaining him new Creatures, provided he did not make him answerable for any thing, nor let it appear that He had any hand in what might be transacted.

Pinto apply'd himself with much Diligence for a long Time in *Lisbon* to discover Malecontents, and to make new ones. He took private Occasions to spread

The HISTORY of the

spread Complaints against the present Government, sometimes with Heat, and at other Times with greater Reserve, according to the different Characters of the Persons he met with. But the Hatred of the People against the *Spaniards* was so general, that even this Caution was unnecessary, and there was no *Portuguese* who might not be trusted with any Secret relating to the Destruction of a *Spaniard*. *Pinto* put the People of Quality in Mind of the honourable Employments their Families had formerly enjoy'd, when *Portugal* was govern'd by its natural Princes. But nothing provok'd the Body of Nobility more, than the *Arrièraban* which the King had summon'd to march into *Catalonia*. *Pinto* represented this Expedition to them as a Banishment, from which it wou'd be very difficult for them to return: That besides the vast Expence of it, they must expect to suffer the usual Haughtiness of the *Spaniards*; and that the Policy of *Spain* having a secret Interest in Destroying the bravest Men, they wou'd be continually expos'd on the most hazardous Occasions, without being allow'd any part of the Glory.

When

When he was in Company with the Citizens and Merchants, he exclaim'd against the Injustice of the Spaniards, who had ruin'd *Lisbon* and all *Portugal*, by removing the Trade of the *Indies* to *Cadiz*. He continually entertain'd them with Discourses on the extreme Misery to which they were reduc'd under so tyrannical a Government; and on the Happiness of those People, who had so bravely deliver'd themselves from it. The Hol-
landers,
and Ca-
talans.

He suggested likewise to the Clergy, on how many Occasions their Privileges and the Immunities of the Church had been violated: That the most considerable Benefices and Dignities in the Kingdom had been made a Prey to Foreigners, instead of being bestow'd as a just Recompence to the Merit and Capacity of the Natives of *Portugal*.

Among those whom he knew to be disaffected, he artfully turn'd the Discourse upon the Qualities of his Master, to try their Inclinations. He complain'd of the unactive Life in which this Prince was bury'd; and express'd himself much concern'd, that he, who alone cou'd effectually redress so many Grievances, appear'd to have so little Affection for his Nation,

D

and

The HISTORY of the

and even so much Indifference for his own Greatness : And observing that these Discourses made Impression, he proceeded to flatter some with the glorious Title of Deliverers of their Country ; raising the Resentment of those who had been ill treated by the *Spaniards*, and giving others great Prospects of Advantage in a Revolution.

He knew how to manage so dextrously the Variety of Tempers he met with, that after he had made sure of many in particular, he assembl'd a considerable Number of the Nobility, with the Archbishop of *Lisbon* at their Head.

This Prelate was of one of the best *d'Acugna.* Families of the Kingdom, learned, skillful in Business, belov'd by the People, but hated by the *Spaniards*, whom he hated reciprocally, because they preferr'd before him the Archbishop of *Braga*, Don *Sebastian de Mattos de Norignia*, a Creature of the Vice-Queen's, whom they had made President of the Chamber *d'Opaco*, and to whom they had given a Share in the Administration.

Among the Persons of Quality who form'd this Assembly, Don *Miguel d'Almeida* distinguish'd himself. He was a venerable old Man who had gain'd much

much Esteem by his Merit. He was proud of preferring the Love of his Country to that of his Fortune; and was enrag'd to see it in a Manner enslav'd by Usurpers. He had persisted all his Life with the utmost Courage and Firmness in these Sentiments; nor cou'd be prevail'd on by the Intreaties of his Family, and the Advice of his Friends, to go to Court, and make his Interest with the Ministers of *Spain*. By this Firmness he had render'd himself much suspected by them. He was the first too whom *Pinto* had pitch'd upon to declare his Mind to with more Freedom, knowing he shou'd run no Risque in trusting a Man of his Character, who was besides of great Authority for engaging the Nobility in his Party.

There were likewise present Don *Antonio d' Almada*, an intimate Friend of the Archbishop's, with his Son Don *Lopez*; Don *Lopez d' Acugna*, that Prelate's Nephew, who had marry'd the Daughter of Don *Antonio d' Almada*; the great Ranger *Mello*; his Brother Don *George*; *Pedro Mendoza*; Don *Rodrigo de Saa*, great Chamberlain; and several Officers of the Houshold, whose Employments were become useless

Titles since *Portugal* had lost her natural Princes.

Conefta-
gio.

In this Assembly, the Archbishop, who was naturally an Orator, display'd, in the most pathetick Manner, the Condition of the Realm since the *Spaniards* were grown Masters of it. He represented to them, That *Philip II*, to secure his Conquest, had destroy'd an infinite Number of the Nobility: That he had not spar'd the Ecclesiasticks; witness that famous Brief of Absolution he had obtain'd from the Pope, for having put to Death two thousand Priests and Religious to secure his Usurpation. That after these deplorable Times the *Spaniards* had not chang'd their Politicks: That under different Pretences they had destroy'd many Persons of Merit, who cou'd only be accus'd of too great Love to their Country. That there was no Person in the Assembly whose Estate and Life were secure: That the Nobility were treated with Contempt, the Grandees excluded from the Government, without Employment and without Respect. That the Church was ill supply'd, since *Vasconcellos* bestow'd the Benefices as Rewards to his Creatures. That the People were loaded with Taxes, the Lands uncul-

uncultivated, and the Cities depopulated, by the Press of Soldiers to be sent to *Catalonia*. That the Orders they had receiv'd to oblige the Nobility to go thither, under the Pretence of the *Arriereban*, was the last Stroke of the Minister's Politicks to rid himself of the Gentry, the only Obstacle to his pernicious Designs. That the least Misfortune which cou'd befall them was a tedious Exile: That they wou'd grow old, like unhappy Strangers, in the Midst of *Castile*, while the new Colonies wou'd sieze their Estates as in a conquer'd Country. That the dreadful Prospect of so many Misfortunes wou'd make him wish to die, rather than see the entire Destruction of his Country, if he did not hope that the Meeting of so great a Number of Persons of Merit, wou'd not be in vain.

This Discourse reviv'd in the Assembly the dreadful Remembrance of all the Evils they had long suffer'd. Every one was full of Instances of *Vasconcellos's* Cruelty: Some had lost their Estates by his Injustice; others had been degraded from Places and hereditary Governments, to make Way for his Creatures; many had lain in Prison for a long Time, to satisfy the *Spanish* Jealousy; some

bewail'd their Fathers, their Brothers, or Friends, detain'd at *Madrid*, or sent into *Catalonia* as Hostages for the Fidelity of their Countrymen. In a Word, there was not one who in the general Concern did not find some particular Injury to revenge. The *Catalonian* Expedition, above all, provok'd their Indignation: They saw that it was not so much the Want of their Aid, as a Design to ruin them, which engag'd the Court of *Spain* to oblige them to so long a Journey. These Considerations, joyn'd to the Hope of revenging themselves of so many Outrages as they had receiv'd, determin'd them to find Means to shake off a Yoke which was grown so heavy; and finding no Alleviation of their Sufferings, they reproach'd themselves with their Patience as a Cowardize and Meanness of Spirit; and agreed at last on the Necessity of driving out the *Spaniards*, but were divided upon the Question, What Kind of Government they ought to chuse.

One Part of the Assembly was inclin'd to a Republick, almost like that of *Holland*; the other Part was for a King; and among the latter, some propos'd the Duke of *Braganza*, others the Marquis of

Revolutions in Portugal.

39

of *Villareal*, others again the Duke d'*Aveiro*, each of the Blood Royal of *Portugal*; and every one took Party according to his particular Interest or Inclination. But the Archbishop, who was devoted to the House of *Braganza*, artfully making use of the Authority of his Character, represented to them with great Force, That the Choice of the Government was not arbitrary or indifferent: That they cou'd not in Conscience break the Oath of Fidelity they had taken to the King of *Spain*, unless it were to do Justice to the right Heir of the Crown: That all the World knew it belong'd to the Duke of *Braganza*; and therefore they ought to determine either to acknowledge him for King, or continue for ever under the *Spanish* Dominion.

He afterwards set before them the great Power, Riches, and considerable Number of Vassals of this Prince, of whom almost a third Part of the Kingdom held: That they cou'd not reasonably hope to succeed in their Design of driving out the *Spaniards*, if they had not him at their Head; and that to engage him to this, they ought to offer him the Crown, tho' his Right were not so undoubted as first Prince of the Blood.

From thence he proceeded to his good Qualities, and insisted on his Prudence, Wisdom, and above all, that mild and good Disposition which appear'd in all his Conduct. In short, he knew so happily how to work upon their Minds, that he brought them all to wish him their King; and before they broke up they agreed, they wou'd omit nothing to engage him in this Design. Thus they parted, having first fix'd what Time they wou'd meet again, to debate on the Means for a sure and speedy Success.

Pinto, observing their Inclinations dispos'd in favour of his Master, wrote to him privately to come near to *Lisbon*, that he might encourage the Conspirators by his Presence, and take strict Measures with them for the Execution of their Design. This artful Man mov'd all the Springs of this Affair, without appearing to have more than the single Part of one who had been animated with Zeal for the publick Good. He pretended to doubt whether his Master wou'd enter into it, because of his natural Aversion to Enterprizes which were hazardous, and requir'd much Attendance and Application. He started upon this such Difficulties,

Difficulties, as serv'd to keep off any Suspicion of an Understanding between his Master and him; yet such too, as not being great enough to discourage them, were proper to raise their Ardor, and engage them the more in this Design.

Upon *Pinto's* Advice, the Duke some Days after left *Villavisiõsa*, and came to *Almada*, a Castle not far from *Lisbon*, as in Course only of his Visits to the Forts. He had so magnificent an Equipage, and was attended with so numerous a Train of Noblemen and Officers, that he appear'd rather like a Sovereign Prince taking Possession of his Kingdom, than a Governour of a Province making a Visitation. When he was so near *Lisbon*, he cou'd not avoid paying his Duty to the Vice-Queen. As he enter'd, the Palace-Yard and all the Avenues were crouded with infinite Numbers of People to see him pass; all the Nobility came in to accompany him to the Vice-Queen. It was a publick Festival thro' the City; and all People were so over-joy'd to see him, that it seem'd as if nothing was wanting that Day but a Herald to proclaim him King, or Resolution enough in himself to put the Crown on his Head.

But

But this Prince was too wise to trust so important a Design to the Sallies of a giddy inconstant Multitude. He knew the vast Difference between those vain Applauses, to which the People easily give themselves a Loose, and those constant Movements which are necessary to support an Enterprize of this Nature: Therefore having taken Leave of the Vice-Queen, he retir'd to *Almada*, without so much as stopping at his own House, or passing thro' the City, without going first to the Palace of *Braganza*, for fear of giving Umbrage to the *Spaniards*, whom the Zeal of the People had already too much alarm'd.

Pinto took Care to make his Friends sensible of his Master's great Precaution. He represented to them, That they ought to take the Opportunity of his Abode at *Almada* to disclose the Matter to him, and even to use some Kind of Violence to engage him to accept the Crown and secure the State. The Conspirators having approv'd this Advice, he was charg'd to obtain from his Master a favourable Occasion for making him the Proposal: He was easily perswaded to accept this Commission. The Duke of *Braganza* agreed to an Interview, on Condition

Condition that not above two or three of the Conspirators shou'd confer with him, not thinking it proper to explain himself to more.

In the Night therefore *Miguel d' Almeida*, *Antonio d' Almada*, and *Mendoza* waited on him; and being privately introduc'd into his Closet, *d' Almada*, who spoke for the rest, represented to him, in a lively Manner, the unhappy State of the Kingdom, in which all Ranks and Conditions were equally oppress'd by the Injustice and Cruelty of the *Castilians*. That as great a Prince as he was, even he was not safe from their Attempts: That he had too great a Discernment, not to see with what Application the Minister endeavour'd to destroy him: That the only Refuge he had from their wicked Designs was the Throne; and to make his way to That, he was commission'd to offer him the Services of a considerable Number of Persons of Rank, who were ready to sacrifice their Estates with Pleasure, and to expose their Lives for his Interest, and to revenge the Nation of the *Castilian* Tyranny.

In the Sequel of his Discourse he told him, Things were not as in the Time of *Charles V*, and *Philip II*, when the

the *Spaniards* gave Law, and made themselves almost fear'd thro' all *Europe*. That this Monarchy, which once form'd such vast Designs, had enough to do at present to preserve its ancient Territory, being attack'd and often beaten by the *Hollanders*, who made War against it. That *Catalonia* alone employ'd all its Forces: That it was destitute of considerable Troops, without Money, and under the Government of a weak Prince, who was himself govern'd by a Minister odious to the whole Kingdom.

Cardinal
Richelieu.

He set before his View the Alliance and Protection he might promise himself from the Princes of *Europe*, naturally Enemies to the House of *Austria*. That *Holland* and *Catalonia* might inform him what might reasonably be expected from a great Minister, whose sublime Genius seem'd wholly apply'd to the Ruin of the House of *Austria*. That the Sea wou'd open him a certain Way to receive the necessary Succours. In a Word, That the Kingdom being now deliver'd from the greatest Part of the *Castilian* Garrisons, which the King of *Spain* had been oblig'd to draw off to reinforce his Army in *Catalonia*, there cou'd

cou'd never be found a more favourable Opportunity to assert his Right, to secure his great Estate, his Family, his Life, and to deliver his Country from insupportable Slavery and Oppression.

This Discourse, it may well be imagin'd, was very agreeable to the Duke of *Braganza*: However, confining himself to that cool and moderate Character which was natural to him, he so order'd the Terms of his Answer to the Deputies, as to seem not to abate their Hope nor encrease it.

He told them, That he agreed with them in their Opinion of the deplorable Condition to which the *Spaniards* had reduc'd the Kingdom; and that himself was not out of Danger. That the Zeal they shew'd for their Country cou'd not be too much applauded; and that he was very much oblig'd to them in particular, for the favourable Regard they had to his Interest. But, after all, he doubted, whether it were yet a proper Time to think of Remedies so violent as those they propos'd, and which had always dreadful Consequences if they did not succeed.

To this Answer, which he wou'd not make more positive, he added such obliging

liging Caresses and such hearty Acknowledgments to each of them in particular, that they judg'd truly that their Deputation was well receiv'd; but that, after all, they ought not to expect, that the Prince wou'd make any other Steps in this Enterprize than by giving his Consent, when they shou'd have put it into such a Condition, that the Success might be no longer doubtful.

After having concerted new Measures with *Pinto*, the Duke return'd to *Villaviciosa* with Cares he had not before been acquainted with, and which wou'd not allow him to relish the Pleasures he us'd till then to taste in a private Life.

As soon as he arriv'd, he communicated to his Dutcheß the Proposals which had been made to him. This Lady was by Birth a *Spaniard*, Sister of the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, a Grandee of *Spain*, and Governour of *Andalusia*. She had naturally a strong Inclination for whatever appear'd great, which, by Degrees, was heighten'd into an unbounded Passion for Glory and Command. The Duke her Father, who found that no less was to be expected from her Wit than from her Courage, had cultivated so fine a Genius with a singular

singular Application. He plac'd about her the most ingenious Persons, who gave her Sentiments full of that Ambition, which the World considers as something Noble, and as the highest Vertue of Princes. She apply'd her self early to distinguish the different Characters of Men, and to discover, thro' the fairest Appearances, the secret Sentiments of those with whom she convers'd; by which Means she had gain'd such Sagacity and Penetration, that nothing was conceal'd from her in the Hearts of the most dissembling Courtiers. In a Word, she neither wanted Courage for the most difficult Undertakings, provided they appear'd to her great and glorious, nor Judgment to find the Means to accomplish them. Her Behaviour was noble, grand, free, and full of a kind of majestick Mildness, which fill'd all who approach'd her with Love and Respect.

She took the Manners of Portugal with so much Ease, that she seem'd to have been born at *Lisbon*. She apply'd her self early to gain the Esteem of her Husband, in which she perfectly succeeded by her strict Conduct, solid Devotion, and Complaisance for the greatest

Part

Ad hæc, politicas artes, bonos & malos regiminis dolos, dominationis arcana, humani latibula ingenii, non modò intelligere mulier, sed & perpetrare quoque ac provehere, tam naturâ quam disciplinâ mirificè instructa fuit. Cætan. Passar. de Bello Lusitan.

Part of his Inclinations. She neglected all those Diversions which are the ordinary Amusement of Persons of her Age and Quality ; and appear'd wholly engag'd, even at her greatest Leisure, in Things that might adorn her Mind, and improve her Judgment.

The Duke of *Braganza* was charm'd with the Possession of so finish'd a Woman ; he had an infinite Esteem for her, joyn'd with an intire Confidence ; and never undertook any Thing without her Advice. He was therefore unwilling to engage any further in so important an Affair, till he had consulted with her, and taken her Judgment on every Particular.

He therefore discover'd to her the Plan of the Conspiracy, the Names of the Persons engag'd in it, the Ardor they shew'd to make it succeed, and what had pass'd as well at *Lisbon* as in the Conference at *Almada*. He added, That upon the News of the *Catalonian* Expedition, he foresaw the Nobility were resolv'd to revolt, rather than go out of the Kingdom ; and there was Reason to fear, that upon his Refusal they wou'd turn their Eyes elsewhere, and find another Chief. That in the
mean

mean Time he cou'd not but own, that the greatness of the Danger shock'd him : That while he only look'd at a Distance on their Design to raise him to the Throne, the Idea of Greatness had agreeably possess'd his Mind ; but now he was to put it to the Tryal, and run all the Hazards of so dangerous an Enterprize, he cou'd not, without some Apprehension, consider how much he shou'd expose himself, and his whole Family. That there cou'd be but little Dependance upon the inconstant Humour of the People, who were discourag'd by the least Difficulty, and easily dispers'd. That it was not enough to have the Nobility on his Side, if they were not supported by the Grandees ; but he had so little Reason to flatter himself that they wou'd come into his Interest, that he was sensible he shou'd always find them crossing his Way, as his most inveterate Enemies ; Jealousy not permitting them to make their Equal their Master.

These Considerations, joyri'd to many more drawn from the Power of the King of *Spain*, and from the little Security there was in trusting to the Assistance of Strangers, ballanc'd the Pas-

E

sion

Some Authors attribute this Turn to Paes the Duke's Secretary.

sion he had for Sovereignty. But the Dutchess, who had a firmer Soul, and more sprightly Ambition, came intirely into the Design of the Conspiracy. The Prospect of so great an Enterprize only rais'd her Courage, and awaken'd her aspiring Thoughts. She ask'd the Duke, if *Portugal*, upon his Refusal, shou'd convert it self into a Republick, what Part he wou'd take between that new Government and the King of *Spain*? The Duke answer'd, he wou'd adhere all his Life inviolably to the Interests of his Country. Your Resolution, said the Dutchess, furnishes me with the Answer I ought to make to you, and which you ought likewise to return to the Deputies of the Nobility; and since you wou'd be willing to expose your self to the greatest Dangers as a Subject of the Republick, it will be more advantageous and glorious to you, to try your Fortune for a Crown which belongs to you, and which the People and the Nobility are dispos'd to place on your Head. She afterwards represented to him with great Strength, the indisputable Right he had to the Crown: That in the unhappy Condition to which the *Castilians* had reduc'd *Portugal*, it was not

not allowable to a Man of his Rank to remain indifferent. That his Children and all his Posterity wou'd reproach his Memory with a Pusillanimity unworthy of his Blood, if he shou'd neglect so favourable an Occasion. In the Train of her Discourse, she magnify'd to him the Pleasure of reigning in a Place, where he cou'd not even obey without Fear; the Charms of a Crown, the Facility of taking Possession of it; That tho' he had not the foreign Aids which were offer'd him, he was himself powerful enough in *Portugal* to drive out the *Spaniards*, especially at the present Juncture of the Revolt in *Catalonia*. In short, she had the Skill to set the Crown before him in so glittering a Light, that she fix'd his Resolution; yet she agreed to his Design of letting the Number of the Conspirators encrease, before he positively declar'd himself; and not to appear openly in it, till the Moment of its Execution.

In the mean Time the Court was not without Uneasiness: The extraordinary Marks of Joy which the People of *Lisbon* shew'd on seeing the Duke of *Braganza*, had made an Impression upon the Minister. He began to suspect that Cabals

were held at *Lisbon* ; and some Reports which ordinarily precede great Events, much encreas'd his Disturbance.

0 Feb. 20.
1640. The King upon this held several Councils ; and to take from the *Portuguese* all Hope of Success in the Revolt they might meditate, it was resolv'd to oblige the Duke of *Braganza*, the only great Man who was to be fear'd in the Kingdom, to come to *Madrid*. The Duke *d'Olivarez* signify'd to him by an Express, that the King requir'd his Advice by Word of Mouth, and wou'd confer with him upon the Condition of the Troops and Places of Strength in *Portugal*. That his Presence was much wish'd for at Court by his Friends ; and that he might assure himself he wou'd be receiv'd with all the Distinction due to his Birth and Merit.

A Clap of Thunder cou'd not have more startled him than this News : The Earnestness and different Pretexs which had been employ'd to draw him out of *Portugal*, confirm'd his Belief that they had a Design upon his Person, and had determin'd his Ruin. They did not now any longer attack him by Employments or feign'd Caresses ; these Orders were positive, and such as wou'd be

be follow'd with Violence, if he shou'd disobey them. He was full of Fears of his being betray'd; and, as it is natural for those whose Heads are working great Designs, to fancy that the World observes their Steps, and has learn'd their Secret, this Prince, who wanted not Capacity, but was somewhat too timorous and distrustful, thought himself lost, and plung'd in the utmost Misfortunes.

However, to gain Time, and to have an Opportunity of informing the Conspirators of the Danger he was in; by the Advice of his Dutcheſs, he sent to *Madrid* a Gentleman of his Household, a Man of Wit and Fidelity, to assure the Minister that he wou'd attend the King with all Speed: But he had given him private Instructions to make use of different Pretences from Time to Time, to excuse his Delay; and thus intended to prevent the Storm, by advancing the Conspiracy. This Gentleman, as soon as he arriv'd at *Madrid*, assur'd the King and the first Minister, that his Master was coming after him. He took a large House, which he furnish'd with great Magnificence: He hir'd likewise a great Number of Servants, gave them Liveries, laid

out every Day considerable Sums of Money ; and in short, omitted nothing to make every Body believe that his Master wou'd soon be there, and design'd to appear at Court in all the Splendor proper to his Birth and Quality.

He pretended, some Days after, to have receiv'd Advice that he was taken very ill. After he had made use of this Pretence, which cou'd not last long, he presented a Memorial to the first Minister, in which he desir'd, in the Name of his Master, that his Majesty wou'd adjust the Rank he ought to be allow'd at Court. He thought to make this Affair take up a great deal of Time, by the Opposition of the Grandees, who might interpose to support their Rights ; but the Minister, who suspected all these Delays, remov'd all Difficulties, and got the Matter decided by the King in Favour of the Duke, and after a Manner very much to his Honour ; so passionately he desir'd to see him at *Madrid*.

The Conspirators were no sooner apprised of the Orders the Duke had receiv'd from Court, but, fearing he might too hastily obey them, they dispatch'd *Mendoza* with all Speed to prevent him, and

and to prevail with him at the same Time generously to pursue his Part. They made Choice of this Lord, because, being Governour of a Place near *Villaviciosa*, the Pretence of going to his Post, was a Blind to cover from the *Spaniards* the secret Intention of his Journey. He took his Time to meet with the Duke when he was Hunting: They soon withdrew into the Wood, and stopping in a Place of Privacy, *Mendoza* remonstrated to him the Danger he wou'd throw himself into by going to Court; that he wou'd absolutely destroy the Hopes of the Nobility and People, by too credulously putting himself into the Hands of his Enemies. That there was a great Number of Gentlemen of Ability resolv'd to sacrifice their Estates and Lives for his Service, who only waited his Leave to declare themselves. That the Time was now come, when he must chuse either Death or a Crown: That it was dangerous to defer it any longer; and there was no Reason to doubt, that an Affair of such Importance, spread among so many People, must come at last to the Knowledge of the *Spaniards*.

The HISTORY of the

The Duke answer'd, That he agreed with him in his Sentiments; and he might assure his Friends, that he was absolutely determin'd to put himself at their Head.

Mendoza retir'd first to his own House, to remove all Suspicion from any who might have observ'd him, of the true Cause of his Journey. He satisfied himself for the present in sending the Conspirators Word that he had been at a Hunting-Match, and that the Game held out for some Time, but in Conclusion the Chase was successful. In a few Days he return'd to *Lisbon*, and acquainted his Friends with the Success of his Journey, and that the Prince desir'd *Pinto* might be sent to him. They dispatch'd him immediately with all necessary Instructions, to inform him of the Plan and Methods of the Execution. *Pinto*, as soon as he arriv'd, acquainted him, that the Court of *Lisbon* was terribly imbroil'd. That the Vice-Queen made loud Complaints of the Pride and Insolence of *Vasconcellos*: That she cou'd no longer bear, that all Dispatches from the Court of *Spain* shou'd be directed to him, whilst she was vested with an empty Title, without Employment or Authority.

Authority. Her Complaints were the more just, as she was a Princess of great Merit, and knew her self capable of executing worthily her Employment in its whole Extent: But she did not perceive, that even her Merit and Greatness of Soul, were the principal Reasons why she had so inconsiderable a Share in the Government. *Pinto* made his Master sensible how favourable this Misunderstanding was to his Designs: That he cou'd not take a more lucky Opportunity than these Divisions afforded him, which left the Ministers less attentive to observe his Paces.

The Duke of *Braganza*, after the Departure of *Mendoza*, had fallen into his usual Irresolution: The more he found himself engag'd in the Affair, the more his Perplexity encreas'd. *Pinto* us'd his utmost Skill to prevent his ballancing any longer; and mixing Menaces with his Reasons and Entreaties, he plainly told him he shou'd be proclaim'd King whether he wou'd or not; and shou'd be able to reap no other Fruit by his Irresolution, than that of running greater Danger. The Dutchess sided with this faithful Domestick, and upbraided his Meanness of Spirit, in preferring the
Security

Security of a frail Life to the Royal Dignity. The Duke, asham'd to shew less Courage than a Woman, yielded to her Reproaches and Reasons. He found himself press'd too by the Gentleman he had sent to *Madrid*, who wrote daily to him, that he cou'd no longer excuse his Absence and Delays to the Minister, who began to have little Regard to his Reasons. Perceiving therefore that he had no Time to lose, he resolv'd to defer his Enterprize no longer. In the mean while he sent Orders to this Gentleman, that to gain Time he shou'd represent to the Duke *d'Olivarez*, that he had come to *Madrid* before this, if he had been provided with Money sufficient for his Journey, and to enable him to appear suitable to his Birth and Rank; and that as soon as he had furnish'd himself with the necessary Sums, he wou'd immediately set out for the Court.

He afterwards debated with the Dutcheß and with *Pinto* many different Methods for executing his Design; and at last pitch'd upon this, That they shou'd first make sure of the City of *Lisbon*, which, being the Capital, wou'd involve the whole Kingdom: That the same
Day

Revolutions in Portugal.

59

Day they made this great City declare for him, he shou'd cause himself to be proclaim'd King of *Portugal* in all the Towns of his Dependance: That such of his Friends as were Governours, shou'd do the same in the Places where they commanded: That in those Towns too and Villages where the Conspirators had Lordships, the Populace shou'd be rais'd, that so this great News spreading like an universal Flame thro' all the Kingdom, might draw in all the People, and leave the few *Spaniards* who remain'd in *Portugal* at a Loss which Way to turn their Arms: That he wou'd throw his own Regiment into the City of *Elvas*, the Governour of which Place was wholly in his Interest: That for the Manner in which they shou'd make themselves Masters of *Lisbon*, he cou'd not prescribe any thing in particular, since that depended upon the Time and Opportunity of making the Attempt; yet he was of Opinion, they shou'd turn their first Efforts upon the Palace, in order to secure the Person of the Vice-Queen, and of all the *Spaniards*, who might serve as Hostages for the surrender of the Cittadel, which might otherwise

wise incommode the City when they were possess'd of it.

He gave him two Letters of Credit for *d'Almeida* and *Mendoza*; in which he signify'd to them, That the Bearer being entrusted with his Intentions, he only wrote to acquaint them, that he desir'd they wou'd not fail in Point of Fidelity to their Promise, nor of Courage and Vigour in the Execution. This being done, the Duke immediately dispatch'd *Pinto* back to *Lisbon*, after having given him all the Marks of Confidence which might assure him, he shou'd keep always the same intimate Place in his Favour, how happy soever the Change might prove, which he hop'd for in his Fortune.

As soon as he arriv'd at *Lisbon*, he deliver'd the Letters to *d'Almeida* and *Mendoza*: They sent immediately for *Lemos* and *Coree*, whom *Pinto* had engag'd long before in his Master's Interest. They were two rich Citizens, who had great Credit among the People; having pass'd thro' all Offices of the City; and had the Command of a considerable Number of Artisans, who receiv'd their Pay. They had both, for a long Time, taken great Pains to foment and keep up
the

the Aversion of the Citizens for the *Spaniards*, by Reports they whisper'd about of new Taxes which wou'd be rais'd at the Beginning of the Year. They had likewise dismiss'd several of their Workmen, especially the most mutinous, under Pretence that Trade being ruin'd, they cou'd employ them no longer; but in truth, with an Intention that Misery and Hunger might more easily provoke them to an Insurrection; and in the mean Time they reliev'd their Wants, that they might have them always at command. Besides this, they held secret Intelligence with the Heads of each Quarter of the City; insomuch that they assur'd the Conspirators, that provided they had Notice the Night before the Execution, they wou'd engage to raise the greatest Part of the People at any Hour that shou'd be desir'd.

Pinto having made sure of the Artisans, apply'd himself to others of the Conspiracy. He exhorted them all in particular, to keep themselves in a Readiness for the Execution upon the first Notice that shou'd be given them: That they shou'd make sure of the Assistance of their Friends under the Pretence of some Quarrel, without acquainting them
with

with the Occasion on which they were to be employ'd; there being many People who can find Courage and Resolution with the Sword in their Hand, who are not capable of supporting in cool Blood all the Weight of an important Design.

Having found them all firm, intrepid, full of Ardour, and impatient to be reveng'd of the Spaniards, he consulted with *d'Almeida, Mendoza, d'Almada, and Mello*; who seeing every thing in the Condition they wish'd, fix'd *Saturday* the first of *December* for the Day of the Execution. Notice was immediately given to the Duke of *Braganza*, that he might cause himself to be proclaim'd King the same Day thro' all the Province of *Alentejo*, most of which held of him; and before they parted, they resolv'd upon meeting once more, to take the last Measures for executing their Enterprize.

Nov. 25.
1640.

On the 25th of *November* at Night they assembled at the Palace of *Braganza*, as they had agreed. They found they cou'd reckon upon almost One hundred and fifty Gentlemen, the greater Part Heads of Families, with all their Domesticks, and about Two hundred Citizens and Artisans, all active Men,
on

on whom they might depend, and who, by their Interest in the City, wou'd easily bring in the rest of the People.

The Death of *Vasconcellos* was determin'd, as a Sacrifice due to the Resentment of all *Portugal*. There were some who propos'd to treat the Archbishop of *Braga* in the same Manner. They represented him as a Man formidable for the Greatness of his Capacity: That it was not to be imagin'd he wou'd remain an indifferent Spectator of the Attempt they were about to make: That he might possibly supply the Secretary's Room, by putting himself at the Head of the *Spaniards*, and of their Creatures, in the City: That while they were busy in possessing themselves of the Palace, he might throw himself into the Citadel, or come to the Relief of the Vice-Queen, to whom he was known to be intirely devoted: That in so important an Affair they ought to leave no Enemy behind, who might give them Cause to repent of a misapply'd Compassion.

These Reasons induc'd the greatest Part of the Assembly to consent to his Death; and this Prelate had run the same Risk as *Vasconcellos*, if Don *Miguel d'Almeida* had not taken his Part. ^{Macedo says this was Almeida.}
He

He represented to the Conspirators, That the Death of a Man of his Character and Dignity wou'd make them odious to all the World: That it wou'd draw upon the Duke of *Braganza* the Hatred of all the Clergy and the Inquisition, a Sort of People formidable to the greatest Princes, and who wou'd join to the Names of Rebel and Usurper, that of a Person excommunicated. That the Prince himself wou'd be in Dread, lest it shou'd be observ'd that he stain'd his Accession to the Crown by so cruel an Action: That he wou'd undertake to watch him so narrowly the Day of the Execution, that he shou'd not be able to attempt any thing to the Prejudice of the publick Interest. In short, he pleaded so earnestly in his Favour, that he obtain'd from his Friends that Prelate's Life, which they cou'd not refuse to a Man of his Merit.

Nothing now remain'd but to settle the March and Disposition of the Attack. It was order'd that they shou'd divide into four Bodies, that they might throw themselves into the Palace in four different Places; so as to take Possession of all the Avenues, and prevent the *Spaniards* from any Communication or mutual

Revolutions in Portugal.

65

al Succour : That Don *Miguel d'Almeida* shou'd attack the *German* Guard at the Entry of the Palace ; that his Brother, the great Ranger *Mello*, and Don *Este-
van d'Acugna*, at the Head of the Citizens, shou'd surprize a *Spanish* Company that mounted the Guard every Day before a Place of the Castle call'd the *Fort* : That *Teillo de Menezes*, the great Chamberlain *Saa*, and *Pinto*, shou'd make themselves Masters of *Vasconcellos's* Apartment, whom they shou'd put to Death upon the Spot ; and that Don *Antonio d'Almada*, *Mendoza*, Don *Carlos Norogna*, and *Antonio de Salsania*, shou'd secure the Vice-Queen, and all the *Spaniards* in the Palace, to serve as Hostages if there shou'd be Occasion. That while they were employ'd to possess themselves of their several Posts, a Body of Horse shou'd be detach'd, with the principal Citizens, to proclaim Don *Juan*, Duke of *Braganza*, King of *Portugal* : That having assembled the People in the Streets, they shou'd pour them in on that Side where there appear'd to be yet any Resistance. They parted in a Resolution to meet on *Saturday* the first of *December*, some at Don *Miguel d'Almeida's*, and others at *d'Almada's* and

F

Mendo-

Mendoza's Houses, where the Conspirators were to be arm'd.

While the Duke of *Braganza's* Friends were so active at *Lisbon* in his Interest, and he himself omitted nothing to make sure of all his Province; the first Minister was alarm'd by his Delays, and sent a Courier with a positive Order to him to come away immediately to Court; and that he might not make an Excuse of want of Money for his Journey, the Courier brought him from the Duke an Order upon the Treasury Royal for Ten thousand Ducats.

This was to explain with him in the most clear and intelligible Terms. The Duke cou'd now no longer defer his Journey, without making himself justly suspected: He had no Pretence left to avoid obeying the King's Commands. A longer Delay might at last draw such Orders from *Madrid*, as wou'd disconcert all his Designs, and absolutely ruine his Enterprize; neither was that the Method he took to elude such pressing Instances: He immediately sent away the greatest Part of his Household, and made them take the direct Road to *Madrid*.

He

Revolutions in Portugal.

67

He gave all Orders in his Government in the Courier's Presence, as a Person going to make a long Journey: He sent at the same Time a Gentleman to the Vice-Queen, to notify to her his Departure: He wrote to the first Minister, that he wou'd be at Court at furthest in eight Days; and that he might have a Witness to depose in his Favour, he engag'd the Courier by a Sum of Money, which he gave him under Pretence of a Present for his Journey, and Care in bringing him the King's Orders. He acquainted the Conspirators at the same Time with the new Summons he had receiv'd from Court; representing to them the Necessity of executing their Designs on the Day appointed, for fear of being prevented by the *Spaniards*: But the Conspirators themselves were in a Perplexity, which wou'd not suffer them to attempt any thing so hastily.

There was a Man of Quality at *Lisbon* who upon all Occasions made a Shew of a violent Abhorrence of the *Spanish* Government; he never spoke of them but by the Names of Tyrants and Usurpers: He declaim'd publicly against their Vices, but above all appear'd outrageous against the *Catalonian* Expedition, on

which he prognosticated a thousand grievous Consequences. *D'Almada* having often discours'd with him, thought there was not in all *Lisbon* a better *Portuguese*; and suppos'd he wou'd be ravish'd to learn that effectual Measures were taking for the Liberty of his Country: But how was he astonish'd, after he had drawn him aside to a private Place, and acquainted him with the Conspiracy, to find that this Man, who was in Reality as great a Coward as he appear'd daring in his Discourse, refus'd to take Part in it, or to come into any Engagement, on Pretence of the little Solidity he saw in this Affair! Fierce and intrepid while he consider'd it at a Distance, but fearful and reserv'd upon view of the Danger he was to partake. Where, says he to *d'Almada*, are the Forces necessary to support so great a Design? What Army have you to oppose the *Spanish* Troops, which, upon the first Motion you discover, will over-spread all the Nation? Who are the *Grande*s at the Head of this Affair? And are they provided of the necessary Funds to support the Expence of a Civil War? I'm afraid, continu'd he, that instead of finding Means to be reveng'd of the *Spaniards*, and to restore

restore the Liberty of the Nation, you will contribute to its Destruction, by affording them an Occasion they have long been seeking to compleat the Ruin of *Portugal*.

D'Almada, who was the farthest in the World from expecting such a return, in Despair for having so ill plac'd his Confidence, answer'd him, by snatching out his Sword, and pressing him briskly with Looks full of Anger; You shall take my Life, says he, with my Secret, or I'll punish you for having so basely drawn it from me by your Imposture. But the other, whose Prudence always serv'd him to keep off the nearest Danger, consented, at sight of a naked Sword, to all that *d'Almada* desir'd. He offer'd to joyn in the Conspiracy, and found new Reasons to destroy those he first advanc'd: He swore with repeated Oaths to keep the Secret inviolably. In a Word, he omitted nothing to perswade *d'Almada*, that it was neither want of Courage nor of Hatred against the *Spaniards*, if he did not relish this Design at the first Proposal.

His Promises and Oaths did not so satisfy *d'Almada*, as not to leave him much disturb'd at this Adventure. With-

out parting with his Man out of Sight, he inform'd the chief Conspirators of this Accident: They all presently took Alarm, made several Reflections upon the Lightness and Inconstancy of this Person; and were afraid the Prospect of the Danger he was to Share, or the Hope of some great Reward, might prevail with him to betray them, notwithstanding all their Precaution. They therefore resolv'd to adjourn the Execution of their Design; and oblig'd *Pinto* to write to his Master to forbear proceeding on his Part, till he heard further from them. But *Pinto*, who was sensible of the Consequence of deferring Affairs of this Nature but one Day, wrote privately to the Prince not to have any Regard to his Letter; that this was only a panick Fear among the Conspirators, which wou'd be over before the Courier arriv'd at *Villaviciosa*.

Accordingly the next Day, when they saw that no Body stirr'd, they were asham'd they had been frighted so easily; and the Person who had occasion'd their Disturbance having given them fresh Assurances of Fidelity, either because he had taken more generous Resolutions, or was afraid to venture upon the Accusati-
on

Revolutions in Portugal.

71

on of so many Persons of Quality, they
refix'd the Execution for the Day before
appointed. But scarce were they got
clear of this Difficulty, when they met
with another, which gave them no less
Disturbance.

Pinto had taken Care to keep several
of the Conspirators dispers'd about the
Palace, to observe what pass'd. They
pretended to saunter idly up and down
like Retainers to the Court; when the
Night before the Execution, which was
design'd to begin with the Death of
Vasconcellos, they saw this Minister em-
bark upon the *Tago*. None but the Con-
spirators wou'd have regarded this, be-
cause it was easy to imagine he might
cross the River on several Occasions
which did not at all concern them: How-
ever they were immediately in Alarm,
and fancy'd that this subtle Man, who
had his Spies every where, had made
some Discovery of the Conspiracy.
They did not doubt but he pass'd over
the River to order some Troops into the
City from the Neighbouring Villages.
Immediately all the Horrors of Death
possess'd their Imaginations; Fear re-
presented to them their Houses beset
with Officers of Justice. Some thought

of flying to *Africa* or *England* from the Cruelty of the *Spaniards*. In short, they pass'd part of the Night in these Agitations, and as it were between Life and Death, when those of the Conspirators who stay'd at the Palace-Gate to make Observations, came and inform'd them, that the Secretary was come back with Hautbois playing before him, having been only abroad at an Entertainment to which he had been invited. Joy succeeded to their Fears; and the Conspirators separated, after they were satisfy'd that all was quiet in the Palace, that every Body was retir'd to Rest; and nothing seem'd to be farther from their Thoughts, than the Business which was to be executed the next Day.

It was very late when they parted; and from that Time to the Minute of the Execution, there remain'd but few Hours of Night; yet in this small Interval there happen'd another Accident: So true it is that Enterprises of this Sort are always very uncertain, and often extremely dangerous, especially when Fear of Punishment, or Hope of Reward can make Traitors. *George Mello*, the great Ranger's Brother, lodg'd at the House

House of one of his Relations in the Suburbs, at some Distance from the City. This Lord thought, that, as the Time of opening the Conspiracy was just approaching, his Relation, with whom he had liv'd in Friendship for a pretty while, wou'd have Reason to take it ill if he shou'd keep from him an Affair of such Consequence, and in which the common Good of his Country interested him equally with himself: That he shou'd easily engage him in the Conspiracy, and bring him with him to the Rendezvous. With this Prospect he went up into his Chamber, as soon as he return'd from the Assembly, and carrying him into his Closet, communicated to him the whole Enterprize; pressing him to joyn with so many worthy Persons, and behave himself as became a Man of his Quality, and a true *Portuguese*. The other was surpriz'd with such strange News; but made a shew of Joy to find his Country ready to recover its Liberty. He thank'd *Mello* for the Confidence with which he honour'd him; and assur'd him he shou'd think himself Happy in exposing his Life, and sharing the Danger with such
brave

The HISTORY of the

brave Men, associated in so just and glorious a Design.

Upon this they parted to take a few Hours Repose before they went to the Rendezvous: But scarce was *Mello* in his Chamber, before he repented his excessive Confidence, and his having inconsiderately put the Fate of so many valuable Persons, into the Power of a Man of whom he was not sufficiently secure. He fancy'd too he had discover'd in his Countenance a secret Disturbance, with the Marks of Surprise and Affright, at the Apprehension of so hazardous an Enterpise. In short, he was afraid that the Fear of Punishment or Hope of Reward, might determine him to reveal the Secret.

Full of these disturbing Reflections, he walk'd hastily up and down his Chamber, when hearing a Murmur of Voices talking low, and as it were in Secret, he open'd his Window to listen to them, and by a dim Light perceiv'd his Kinsman at the Gate ready to mount on Horseback. Immediately, in a Fury, he hasten'd down; and running to him with Sword in Hand, ask'd him boldly what drew him out of his House at Midnight? What was his Design, and
whither

whither he was going? His Kinsman, in the utmost Surpize, made lame Answers to excuse himself. But *Mello* threatening to kill him, forc'd him up into his Chamber, and getting the Keys of the House, kept him in his Sight; till the Time of the Action being come, he carry'd him with him to joyn the Conspirators.

And now the Day appear'd, the Event of which was to determine whether the Duke of *Braganza* deserv'd the Title of King and Deliverer of his Country, or the Name of Rebel and Enemy to the State.

The Conspirators came very early to the Houses of Don *Miguel d'Almeida*, and of the other Lords, where they were to be arm'd. They appear'd in general with so much Resolution and Confidence, that they seem'd to be going to a certain Victory. It was very remarkable, that in so great a Number of Clergy, Citizens, and Gentlemen, most of whom were animated by different Interests, not One was false to his Engagement: Each press'd the Execution as if he were the Head and Projector of the Enterprize, and expected the Crown in Recompence of the Dangers to which he

he expos'd himself, Several Women too were desirous of sharing in the Glory of this Day. History preserves the Memory of *Donna Philippa de Villenes*, who arm'd both her Sons with her own Hands ; and putting on their Breast-Plates, said, Go, my Children, extirpate Tyranny, take Vengeance on our Enemies ; and know for certain, that if the Success do not answer our Hopes, your Mother will not survive a Moment the Misfortune of so many gallant Men.

As soon as they were all arm'd, they took several Ways to the Palace ; and most were carry'd in Chairs, the better to conceal their Number and their Arms. They divided into four Bodys, as they had agreed, impatiently waiting till the Clock shou'd strike Eight, which was the Moment fix'd for the Execution. Never did Time appear so long : The Fear lest their Number shou'd be observ'd, and that the unusual Hour of their appearing about the Palace shou'd give the Secretary Suspicion of their Design, held them in great Uneasiness. At last it struck Eight, and *Pinto* having at that Instant fir'd a Pistol for a Signal, according to Agreement, they were at liberty to act.

They

They all attack'd boldly together, each in the Post assign'd him. Don *Miguel d'Almeida* with his Party fell upon the *German* Guard; who being taken at a surprize, and most without Arms, were soon defeated, and with very little Resistance.

The great Ranger, *Mello* his Brother, and Don *Estevan d'Acugna*, attack'd the *Spanish* Company which was upon Guard before that Part of the Palace call'd the *Fort*. They were supported by the greatest Part of the Citizens, who had a Share in the Enterprize. These threw themselves very bravely Sword in Hand among the *Corps de Guard*, where the *Spaniards* were posted. But none more distinguish'd himself than a Priest of the Town, who march'd at the Head of the Conspirators, with a Crucifix in one Hand, and a Sword in the other; and animated the People with a passionate Voice to cut their Enemies in pieces, charging the *Spaniards* himself with the utmost Resolution. All fled before him, for as he appear'd arm'd with an Object of Adoration, no Body durst attack him, or defend himself; so that after some Resistance the *Spanish* Officer with his Men was oblig'd to Surrender,

The HISTORY of the

render, and to save his Life by crying out with the rest, *Long live the Duke of Braganza King of Portugal.*

Pinto having made his Way into the Palace, put himself at the Head of the Party which was to attack the Apartment of *Vasconcellos*. He march'd on with so much Confidence, that meeting one of his Friends, who ask'd him trembling whither he was going with so great a Number of arm'd Men, and what he intended ; he answer'd smiling, Nothing but to change Masters, and rid you of a Tyrant, in order to give you a lawful Sovereign.

Entring the Secretary's Apartment, at the Stair-foot they met *Francisco Soares d'Albergania*, the *Corrigidor Civil*, who was just going out of his Lodgings. This Magistrate, thinking at first that the Tumult was occasion'd by some private Quarrel, interpos'd his Authority to make them disperse : But hearing on all Sides a Cry of *Long live the Duke of Braganza!* he thought himself oblig'd in Honour and Duty to cry, *Long live the King of Spain and Portugal!* Which cost him his Life ; for one of the Conspirators shot him with a Pistol, and made
a Merit

a Merit of punishing him for a Loyalty which was now criminal.

Antonio Correa, first Clerk to the Secretary, ran out at the Noise. As he was the common Instrument of his Cruelties, and, after the Example of his Master, treated the Nobility with great Insolence, *Don Antonio de Menezes* plung'd his Dagger in his Breast: But this Blow was not enough to convince the Wretch that his Authority was at an End; for not being able to imagine they durst attack him, but supposing he was mistaken for another, he turn'd fiercely to *Menezes*, and ask'd how he durst strike him? To which the other answer'd by repeating his Blows, till he had fetch'd him to the Ground: However, his Wounds not being mortal, he recover'd afterwards to lose his Life more ignominiously by the Hands of the Executioner.

The Conspirators having got rid of the Clerk, who had stopp'd them upon the Stairs, press'd forward to enter the Secretary's Chamber. He had with him *Diego Garces Palleia*, a Captain of Foot, who seeing such a Number of People in Arms, and full of Rage, suspected a Design upon *Vasconcellos's* Life.
He

He had no Obligations to this Minister, yet Generosity prompted him to throw himself Sword in Hand without the Chamber Door, and dispute the Entry of the Conspirators, that he might give him Time to make his Escape; but being wounded in the Arm, and disabled from holding his Sword, and likewise oppress'd by Numbers, he leap'd out at a Window, and was so fortunate as to save his Life.

The Conspirators immediately rush'd into the Secretary's Chamber: They search'd every where for him, overturn'd the Beds, Tables, and broke open Chests to find him; each striving for the Glory of giving him the first Blow: But he was no where to be found, and the Conspirators were in the utmost Fear lest he shou'd escape their Revenge; when an old Maid-Servant, being threaten'd with Death, pointed to a Wardrobe made privately in the Wall of the Chamber, where he was found cover'd with Papers.

The Horrour of seeing himself every way beset with unavoidable Death, prevented his speaking one Word. Don Roderigo de Saa, great Chamberlain, first shot him with a Pistol; after which the

Conspirators,

Revolutions in Portugal.

81

Conspirators, having run him several times thro the Body with their Swords, threw him out at the Window, crying out, *The Tyrant is dead! Liberty, and Don Juan King of Portugal!*

The People, who were gather'd in Crouds about the Palace, upon seeing him thrown out headlong, made great Shouts and Acclamations of Joy in answer to those from within. They afterwards fell with great Fury upon his miserable Remains, every one offering him some Indignity, as if he wou'd revenge the Injuries done to the Publick, and give the last Blow to Tyranny.

Such was the End of *Miguel Vasconcellos*, by Birth a *Portuguese*, but a sworn Enemy to his Country, and a *Spaniard* by Inclination. He had naturally an admirable Genius for Business, was a Person of great Ability and indefatigable Application, fruitful of new Projects to draw Money from the People, and consequently incapable of Pity; inflexible, and rigorous even to Cruelty; without Relations, Friends, or Affection. No Body had any Influence over him: He was even insensible to Pleasures, and incapable of Remorse. In the Execution of his Office he had amass'd excessive

G

Riches

Riches, Part of which was plunder'd in the Heat of the Tumult; the People doing themselves Justice, and making him repay them for the Damages they judg'd they had suffer'd during his Ministry.

Pinto, without Loss of Time, hasten'd to join the rest of the Conspirators, who were to make themselves Masters of the Palace and the Person of the Vice-Queen. He found this was done already, and that they had every where met with equal Success. Those who were appointed to attack the Apartment of this Princess coming before the Gate, and threat'ning in a Fury to set Fire to it if she did not immediately cause it to be open'd, the Vice-Queen, accompany'd with her Maids of Honour and the Archbishop of *Braga*, presented her self at the Entrance, vainly hoping that her Presence wou'd appease the Nobility, and oblige the People to retire. I confess, Gentlemen, said she, that the Secretary has justly drawn upon himself the Hatred of the People and your Resentment, by his rigorous and insolent Conduct. His Death has freed you from a detested Minister: Let your Revenge be satisfy'd with that; and consider, that

Revolutions in Portugal.

83

that these Disorders may thus far be imputed to the publick Hatred against the Secretary ; but if you shou'd persist longer in this Tumult, you will not be able to clear your selves from the Guilt of Rebellion, and you will put me out of a Capacity of excusing you to the King.

Don *Antonio de Menezes* reply'd, That so many Persons of Rank had not taken Arms only to destroy a Wretch who ought to have died by the Hands of the common Executioner: That they were assembled to put the Duke of *Braganza* in Possession of a Crown which was his Right, and had been usurp'd to the Prejudice of his Family ; and that they were all ready to sacrifice their Lives with Pleasure in restoring him to the Throne. She was about to have reply'd, and to have interpos'd the King's Authority ; but *d'Almeida*, fearing that a longer Discourse might abate the Ardour of the Conspirators, interrupted her, telling her boldly, That *Portugal* own'd no other King now than the Duke of *Braganza* ; and at the same Time the Conspirators gave a Shout, striving which shou'd cry loudest, *Long live Don Juan King of Portugal !*

G 2

The

The Vice-Queen, seeing them past Restraint, thought she might find more Obedience in the City; and that her Presence wou'd have more Influence on the common People and Citizens, when they shou'd be no longer sustain'd by the Conspirators: But, as she offer'd to go down Stairs, Don *Carlos Norogna* entreated her to retire to her Apartment, assuring her she shou'd be serv'd there with as much Respect as if she yet govern'd the Kingdom; He told her so great a Princess ought not to be expos'd to the Insults of the Multitude, who were yet in a Tumult, and fir'd with Zeal for their Liberty. She easily understood by this that she was a Prisoner; and transported with Rage, ask'd him in a scornful Manner, And what can the Multitude do to me? To which *Norogna* in a Passion reply'd, Nothing, Madam, but throw your Highness out at the Window.

The Archbishop of *Braga* cou'd not hear this without being provok'd; and snatching a Sword from a Soldier who stood near him, he wou'd have attempted to revenge the Vice-Queen, and had like to have thrown away his Life; when Don *Miguel d'Almeida* catching him

him in his Arms, begg'd him to consider the Danger to which he expos'd himself; and drawing him aside by Force, told him he had found it no easy Matter to obtain his Life from the Conspirators, to whom he was already odious enough, without his exasperating them more by a Bravery which cou'd signify nothing, and was not very suitable to a Man of his Character. He was therefore prevail'd upon to withdraw, and to dissemble all his Passion, in Hopes that Time wou'd favour him hereafter with an Opportunity of prosecuting his Revenge against *Norogna*, and his Devotion for the Interest of *Spain*.

The rest of the Conspirators secur'd the *Spaniards* who were in the Palace or in the City. They seiz'd the Marquis de *Puebla*, Major Domo to the Vice-Queen, and elder Brother of the Marquis de *Leganez*; Don *Didace Cardenas*, Camp-Master General; Don *Fernando de Castro*, Intendant Marine; the Marquis de *Bayonetto*, an *Italian*, Master of the Horse to the Vice-Queen; and some Sea Officers who were in Port: All which was done as quietly as if they had been arrested by the King of *Spain's* Order; no Body mov'd to their Assistance; and

The Vice-Queen, seeing them past Restraint, thought she might find more Obedience in the City; and that her Presence wou'd have more Influence on the common People and Citizens, when they shou'd be no longer sustain'd by the Conspirators: But, as she offer'd to go down Stairs, Don *Carlos Norogna* entreated her to retire to her Apartment, assuring her she shou'd be serv'd there with as much Respect as if she yet govern'd the Kingdom; He told her so great a Princess ought not to be expos'd to the Insults of the Multitude, who were yet in a Tumult, and fir'd with Zeal for their Liberty. She easily understood by this that she was a Prisoner; and transported with Rage, ask'd him in a scornful Manner, And what can the Multitude do to me? To which *Norogna* in a Passion reply'd, Nothing, Madam, but throw your Highness out at the Window.

The Archbishop of *Braga* cou'd not hear this without being provok'd; and snatching a Sword from a Soldier who stood near him, he wou'd have attempted to revenge the Vice-Queen, and had like to have thrown away his Life; when Don *Miguel d'Almeida* catching him

him in his Arms, begg'd him to consider the Danger to which he expos'd himself; and drawing him aside by Force, told him he had found it no easy Matter to obtain his Life from the Conspirators, to whom he was already odious enough, without his exasperating them more by a Bravery which cou'd signify nothing, and was not very suitable to a Man of his Character. He was therefore prevail'd upon to withdraw, and to dissemble all his Passion, in Hopes that Time wou'd favour him hereafter with an Opportunity of prosecuting his Revenge against *Norogna*, and his Devotion for the Interest of *Spain*.

The rest of the Conspirators secur'd the *Spaniards* who were in the Palace or in the City. They seiz'd the Marquis de *Puebla*, Major Domo to the Vice-Queen, and elder Brother of the Marquis de *Leganes*; Don *Didace Cardenas*, Camp-Master General; Don *Fernando de Castro*, Intendant Marine; the Marquis de *Bayonetto*, an *Italian*, Master of the Horse to the Vice-Queen; and some Sea Officers who were in Port: All which was done as quietly as if they had been arrested by the King of *Spain's* Order; no Body mov'd to their Assistance; and

they were scarce in a Condition of making any Resistance themselves, most of them having been surpriz'd in their Beds

In the next Place, *Antonio de Saldania*, at the Head of his Friends, and a great Croud of People which follow'd him, went up to the supreme Court of Justice. He harangu'd the People upon the Happiness of *Portugal*, in having recover'd its rightful King: That Tyranny was now banish'd; and that the Laws, so long despis'd, wou'd soon recover their ancient Vigour under so wise and just a Prince. His Speech was receiv'd with a general Applause, and answer'd by the most lively Acclamations in Favour of the new King; and the Decrees which were lately pronounc'd in the Name of the King of *Spain*, were chang'd and stil'd, By the Authority and in the Name of Don *Juan* King of *Portugal*.

While *Antonio de Saldania* dispos'd the Court of Justice to acknowledge the Duke of *Braganza* as King; Don *Gaston Coutinho* visited the Prisons, and set at Liberty all such as had been confin'd by the Cruelty of the *Spanish* Ministry. These poor Wretches, being brought in one Moment out of Dungeons, and the continual

continual Terror of Death, into a delightful View of their own and their Country's Liberty; transported with Gratitude, and dreading a Return to their Chains, compos'd a new Body no less zealous for the setting the Duke of *Braganza* on the Throne, than those who had first form'd the Design.

In the midst of the Joy with which the Success of this Enterprize fill'd the Conspirators, *Pinto* and the chief of them were not without Uneasiness. The *Spaniards* were still in the Citadel, from whence they cou'd easily batter the Town, and give the People Cause to repent of their hasty Triumph. This was besides an Avenue by which the King of *Spain* might re-enter the City at Pleasure, and recover his Authority. Therefore thinking they had done nothing till they were Masters of this Place, they went to the Vice-Queen, and demanded her Order to the Governour, to deliver it into their Hands.

She absolutely rejected this Proposal; and reproaching them with their Rebellion, ask'd them, if they intended to make her an Accomplice. *D'Almada* fir'd at her Refusal, with Rage sparkling in his Eyes, Swore if she did not instantly

stantly Sign the Order, he wou'd put all the *Spaniards* to the Sword which were in Custody. The Vice-Queen frighted by his Passion, and being in a Concern for the Lives of so many Persons of Quality, imagin'd that the Governour wou'd understand his Duty better, than to obey an Order which he might easily judge was obtain'd by Violence; and therefore sign'd it: But it had a different Effect from what she expected. The *Spanish* Governour, Don *Lopez Delcampo*, a Man of little Resolution, seeing all the Conspirators in Arms, and follow'd by vast Crouds, who threaten'd to cut him and the whole Garrison to Pieces if he did not Surrender immediately, was glad to come off with so specious a Pretence to cover his Cowardize, and therefore deliver'd up the Citadel.

The Conspirators having now secur'd all Sides, dispatch'd *Mendoza* and the great Ranger, to carry this welcome News to the Duke of *Braganza*; and to assure him from them, that nothing was wanting to make the People compleatly happy, but the Presence of their King.

Yet his Presence was not equally desir'd by all. The *Grandees* cou'd not see his Advancement without a secret Envy;

Envy; and those of the Nobility who had no Share in the Conspiracy, by their Silence shew'd their Irresolution. Some proceeded so far as to say, they doubted whether the Duke wou'd avow so desperate an Attempt, and which must infallibly have terrible Consequences. The Creatures of *Spain*, above all, were in a wonderful Consternation: They durst not shew themselves, for fear of being torn in Pieces by the People, who were furious with their new Liberty. Every one kept close to his House, expecting that a little Time wou'd inform them what they ought to fear or hope from the Duke of *Braganza's* Designs.

But his Friends, who were well apprised of his Intentions, still pursu'd their Way. They assembl'd at the Palace to give some Orders till the King shou'd arrive. They unanimously declar'd the Archbishop of *Lisbon* President of the Council, and Lieutenant General for the King. He declin'd it at first, representing that the present State of the City, and of all the Kingdom, requir'd rather a General than a Man of his Character. At last, seeming to be prevail'd upon by the Entreaties of his Friends, he agreed to take upon him the signing of Orders,
on

The HISTORY of the

on Condition they wou'd joyn the Archbishop of *Braga* with him, for the Management of Business and Dispatches till the King's Arrival.

By this Expedient that politick Prelate hop'd, under Pretence of sharing the Authority with him, to make him an Accomplice, and consequently Criminal to the *Spaniards*, if he accepted the Government; in which after all he wou'd have left him nothing besides the Title; or if he refus'd, to Ruin him with the Prince, and render him odious even to his own People, and to all *Portugal*, as a declar'd Enemy to the Kingdom.

The Archbishop of *Braga* perceiv'd the Snare; but being entirely devoted to the *Spaniards* by the Esteem he had for the Vice-Queen, he peremptorily refus'd to have any Share in the Government. By this Means the Archbishop of *Lisbon* was charg'd with this alone, and Don *Miguel d'Almeida*, *Pedro Mendoza*, and Don *Antonio d'Almada*, were appointed his Counsellors of State.

One of his first Cares was to secure three *Spanish* Galleons which were in the Port of *Lisbon*. For this Purpose some Barks were fitted out, and the Youth of the City press'd on board them, to
signalize

signalize themselves: But the Ships made no Resistance, the Officers and most of the Soldiers having been seiz'd in the City at the first opening of the Conspiracy.

The same Evening he dispatch'd Couriers to all the Provinces, to exhort the People to offer up Thanks to Almighty God for the Recovery of their Liberty; with Orders to the Magistrates of Cities to proclaim the Duke of *Braganza* King of *Portugal*, and to secure all the *Spaniards* they cou'd find. He then prepar'd every thing at *Lisbon* for a Magnificent Reception of the new Prince, who was expected every Moment. The Archbishop signify'd to the Vice-Queen, that it wou'd be convenient she shou'd retire from the Palace, to make Room for the King and his Household. He took Care to have an Apartment provided for her in the Royal House of *Xabregas*, which was in one of the extreme Parts of the City. The Princess, as soon as she understood the Archbishop's Intention, left the Court with an Air of Scorn, and without saying a Word. She pass'd thro' all the City in her Way thither; but without that Crowd of Courtiers which us'd to attend

tend her, and with few Domesticks. The Archbishop of *Braga* alone, still constant in his Adherence to her, gave publick Marks of it at a Time when he cou'd not do it without the Hazard of his Life.

In the mean Time the Duke of *Braganza* was in the greatest Agitation during the Uncertainty of his Fate. All that Variety of agreeable and terrible Ideas, which the most flattering Hope, and the most anxious Fear can suggest, successively possess'd his Mind. The Distance of *Villaviciosa*, which is thirty Leagues from *Lisbon*, prevented his receiving the News of what had pass'd so soon as he wish'd. All that he knew was, that this Moment his Life and Fortune were decided there. At first he had resolv'd, as we said before, to make an Insurrection in all the Towns of his Dependance: But he now thought it more convenient to wait for News from *Lisbon*, that he might take his Measures according to what had pass'd there: He had the Kingdom of *Algarve*, and the City and Citadel of *Elvas* to retire to, if his Success did not prove favourable at *Lisbon*; and he imagin'd too, that he might be able to clear himself

himself from having had any Hand in the Conspiracy, especially at a Time when the Spaniards wou'd be glad to have him innocent.

He had sent out several Couriers upon the Road to *Lisbon*; And tho' he expected News every Hour, he had already pass'd the whole Day, and part of the Night in this Perplexity; when *Mendoza* and *Mello*, with extreme Diligence, arriv'd at *Villaviciosa*. They immediately threw themselves at the Prince's Feet, and by that Posture of Respect, as well as by the Joy of their Looks, they discover'd to him, better than by Words, that he was King of *Portugal*.

They were going to give him an exact Account of their Success: But the Prince, without allowing them Time to enter into Particulars, carry'd them into the Dutchesse's Apartment. The two Lords approach'd her with the same Respect as if she were actually upon the Throne. They assur'd her of the good Wishes of all her Subjects; and to let her see they acknowledg'd her as Sovereign, in all their Discourse they gave her the Title of Majesty; which cou'd not but be the more agreeable to her,

her, in Regard that the Kings of *Portugal* before that Time had only the Stile of Highness.

'Tis easy to conceive the Joy the Prince and Princess were affected with, by the tormenting and restless Cares out of which they were brought, and by the Grandeur to which they were now rais'd. The Castle eccho'd with Shouts of Joy, and the News soon diffus'd it self. The same Day the Duke was proclaim'd King in all the Towns of his Dependance: *Alphonso de Mello* caus'd the same to be done in the City of *Elvas*. Crouds ran to pay their Duty to the new King; and perhaps he was no less pleas'd with these first Addresses, tho' offer'd in a confus'd Manner, than with those he receiv'd soon after in the greatest Solemnity.

The King set out immediately for *Lisbon*, with the same Equipage which it was thought he wou'd have appear'd in at the Court of *Spain*. He was attended by the Marquis *de Ferreira* his Relation, the Count *de Vimiosa*, and several Persons of Quality which flock'd in to him.

He left the Queen his Wife at *Villaviciosa*, that by her Presence she might keep

keep the Province firm to his Obedience. He found the Roads fill'd with great Numbers of People of all Conditions, who crouded to see him. He had the Pleasure, as he pass'd, to hear them every where expressing their Wishes for his Prosperity, and venting a thousand Curses against the *Spaniards*. All the Nobility, the Officers of the Crown, and the chief Magistrates, came to meet him at a considerable Distance from *Lisbon*; and he made his Entry into that City amidst many Acclamations and Applauses of the People, and with a Retinue very Numerous, Magnificent, and full of Joy. Decem. 6.

At Night Fireworks were dispos'd in all the publick Places. The Citizens made Bonfires before their Houses, and their Windows were brighten'd with Illuminations: So that the whole City seem'd in a Flame; which gave Occasion to a *Spaniard* to say, that he was a very happy Prince, to gain so fine a Kingdom at no greater Expence than that of a Bonfire.

This Insurrection at *Lisbon*, was immediately follow'd by a general one thro' the whole Kingdom: It look'd as if every Town, after the Example of this great

great City, had a Plot ready to break out ; so sudden and general was the Revolution. Couriers arriv'd every Day, and brought News to the King, that Cities and whole Provinces had driven out the *Spaniards*, and submitted themselves to his Obedience. The Governours of other Places had not more Resolution, than the Governour of the Citadel of *Lisbon* ; and either for want of Troops, or of Courage, or Ammunition, they shamefully evacuated them, the most without firing a Gun. Each dreaded the Fate of *Vasconcellos*, and thought nothing so terrible as the People in a Fury. They fled out of *Portugal* with a Precipitation, like Criminals escap'd out of Prison ; not a single *Spaniard* remain'd besides those who were seiz'd ; and all this in the Space of less than a Fortnight.

Don *Fernando de la Cueva*, Governour of the Citadel of *St. Joam*, at the Mouth of the *Tago*, was the only Person who made any Shew of opposing the general Revolution ; and pretended to keep that Place for the King his Master. His Garrison, consisting entirely of *Spaniards*, commanded by good Officers, made a vigorous Resistance upon the first Approach of the *Portuguese*. There was a
Necessity

Necessity of preparing to besiege him in Form ; for which Purpose Cannon were brought from *Lisbon*, the Trenches were open'd and carry'd on to the Counter-scarpe, notwithstanding the continual Fire and Sallies of the Besieg'd. But a Treaty being the most certain, and sometimes the shortest way of proceeding, the King made such advantageous Proposals to the Governour, that he cou'd not withstand them. He was tempted by considerable Sums of Money, and a Commanderie of the Order of *Christ*, which the King promis'd him, to make his Terms, and surrender the Citadel, under Pretence of not having Troops enough to maintain it ; in spite of the Endeavours of the principal Officers of the Garrison, who refus'd to Sign the Capitulation.

The King thought proper not to defer any longer his Coronation, in order to Consecrate his Regality, and render his Person more August to the People. This Ceremony was perform'd on the 15th of *December* with all possible Magnificence : The Duke d'*Aveiro*, the Marquis de *Villareal*, his Son the Duke de *Camina*, the Count de *Monsano*, and all the other Grandees of the Kingdom were

H present.

present. The Archbishop of *Lisbon* at the Head of his Clergy, accompany'd by several Bishops, receiv'd him at the Gate of the Cathedral : And he was solemnly Acknowledg'd King of *Portugal* by all the States of the Kingdom, who took the Oath of Fidelity to him.

A few Days after, the Queen arriv'd at *Lisbon* with a numerous Retinue: The whole Court advanc'd a great Way to meet her. The Officers who were appointed of her Household were gone before : The King himself went out of the City to receive Her ; and omitted no Magnificence that was agreeable to his Dignity, and might shew his Sense how much she had contributed to place the Crown on his Head. It was remarkable, that in so great a Change of Fortune she had no Difficulty in assuming the Person of a Queen ; and that she supported her new Honour with as much Grace and Majesty, as if she had been Born in it.

Such was the Success of this Enterprize : The Secrecy of which may be accounted a Miracle ; whether we consider the great Number, or the various Characters of the Persons to whom it was intrusted. But this was the natural Effect

Revolutions in Portugal.

99

Effect of that Aversion each of them had long conceiv'd against the *Spanish* Government ; an Aversion rais'd at the Beginning of this Monarchy by the frequent Wars which the People, as Neighbours, had perpetually with each other ; augmented by their Concurrence in the Discovery of the *Indies*, and their frequent Differences about Trade ; and which was increas'd into a violent Hatred, since the *Portuguese* had been Subject to the *Castilian* Yoke.

The News of this Revolt was soon carry'd to the Court of *Spain*. The Minister was deeply Affected with it, and inrag'd to find his Measures broken. The King his Master had no Occasion for new Business, finding it difficult enough to defend himself against the Arms of *France* and *Holland*. And above all, the Revolt of *Catalonia* was of dangerous Example, and fill'd his Mind with the greatest Anxiety.

The whole Court was acquainted with what had pass'd before the King himself was appris'd of it. No Body durst break it to him for fear of the Minister, who wou'd not easily have Pardon'd any one who shou'd have taken upon him that Office. At last, it

H 2 being

being too much talk'd to be conceal'd any longer, the Duke *d'Olivarez* resolv'd to disclose it to the King, lest some of his Enemies might relate the Affair to his Disadvantage. But knowing the Temper of this Prince, he manag'd the Relation so artfully, that the King did not know the worst of it. Sir, says he, with an Air of Openness and Assurance, I bring your Majesty good News; you have gain'd a great Dutchy and several fair Territories. By what Means? reply'd the King, in a Surprise. By Means, reply'd the Minister, of the Duke of *Braganza's* being distracted; and having suffer'd himself to be seduc'd by a Populace, who have Proclaim'd him King of *Portugal*: Thus is his whole Estate confiscate; your Majesty may reunite it to your Revenue, and by the Extinction of this Family possess that Kingdom hereafter without Disturbance.

As weak as this Prince was, he was not so amus'd with these Magnificent Hopes, as not to be sensible this was no easy Matter: But as he durst not see by any other Eyes than those of his Minister, he satisfy'd himself with saying to him, That it was Necessary to use all Diligence
to

to extinguish a Rebellion which might have dangerous Consequences.

The King of *Portugal* neglected nothing which might establish him in his new Greatness. Upon his Arrival at *Lisbon* he nominated for all the Frontier Places Governours of Fidelity, and full of Valour and Experience; who had Orders to go immediately, and with what Forces they cou'd get together, take Possession of their Governments, and put them into a Condition of Defence with all possible Expedition. He gave out several Commissions at the same Time for levying Troops; and immediately after his Coronation call'd a Convention of the States of the Kingdom. In this Assembly he caus'd his Title to be examin'd, that he might leave no Scruple in the Minds of the *Portuguese*; and was by a solemn Act recogniz'd true and rightful King of *Portugal*, as descended by the Princess his Mother from the Infante *Edward*, Son of King *Emanuel*; to the Exclusion of the King of *Spain*, who was descended from that King by a Daughter, who, by the fundamental Laws of the Realm, was excluded from the Crown by being Marry'd to a foreign Prince.

In this general Assembly of the States he declar'd, That he was content with his patrimonial Estate for the Charge of his Household; and that he wou'd reserve the whole Revenue of the Crown for the Necessities of the Kingdom: And to give the People a Taste of the Mildness of his Government, he abolish'd all the Imposts with which they were burthen'd by the *Spaniards*.

He fill'd the Employments of State, and the most considerable Places, with those of the Conspirators who were best qualify'd for them, and had shewn the greatest Zeal for his Advancement to the Throne. But *Pinto* had no Share among these Promotions; the Prince not thinking his Authority yet sufficiently Establish'd, to raise one of his Domesticks of an ordinary Extraction to a great Post. Yet his Interest with his Master, and thro' the Kingdom, was not the less for this; and it may be said, that without the Title of Minister or Secretary of State, he executed the Office by the intire Confidence the King had in him.

Having settl'd every Thing as well as cou'd be desir'd in the Kingdom, he apply'd his utmost Care to make a strict League with the Enemies of the King
of

of *Spain*, and to raise him new ones; and endeavour'd to flatter the Duke de *Medina-Sidonia*, his Brother-in-law, and Governour of *Andalusia*, into a Design of making himself independent in his Government, and after his Example to erect himself into a Sovereign. The Marquis d'*Aiamonte*, a *Spanish* Lord, and Relation of the Queen of *Portugal*, undertook this Negotiation; of which we shall see the Success in the Sequel of this History.

He afterwards sent Ambassadors to all the Courts of *Europe*, to get himself acknowledg'd King of *Portugal*. He made a League offensive and defensive with the *Hollanders* and *Catalans*, and got Assurance of the Protection of *France*. The King of *Spain* discover'd his Weakness, by not undertaking any thing considerable on the Frontiers of *Portugal* the whole Campaign, probably because the Revolt in *Catalonia* employ'd most of his Forces; and what he did undertake prov'd unsuccessful, his Troops having always some Disadvantage. Some Time after, News came, that *Goa* and all the Places under the *Portuguese* Government, whether in the *Indies*, in *Africa*, or *Peru*, had follow'd the general Re-

volution of the Kingdom. And now every thing seem'd to promise the King of *Portugal* Success, and a Reign always quiet at home and victorious abroad; when he was upon the Point of losing both his Crown and his Life, by a detestable Plot privately form'd in *Lisbon*, and even in the midst of his Court.

The Archbishop of *Braga*, as we observ'd before, was intirely devoted to the Court of *Spain*, whose Minister he was in *Portugal*: He plainly saw he cou'd not be re-establish'd but by restoring the *Spanish* Government. He was afraid too that the King, tho' he seem'd to have had some Regard to his Character, in not causing him to be seiz'd among the rest of the *Spanish* Ministers, had determin'd nevertheless to do it hereafter, when his Authority shou'd be more establish'd. But what was stronger than all the rest to prompt him to some considerable Enterprize, was his inseparable Regard to the Vice-Queen: He cou'd not see this Princess a Prisoner, and especially in the Place where he thought she had a Right to Reign, without the greatest Resentment; which was particularly increas'd by an Order, that neither he nor any other
Persons

Persons of Quality shou'd be admitted to her, since it had been observ'd that she made use of the Liberty the King had left her, to perswade all the *Portuguese* that visited her to a Revolt. This Order he thought tyrannical and insupportable; and consider'd the Princess every Moment as demanding of him her Liberty, in Return for all the Favours she had conferr'd on him; the Remembrance of which kindl'd his Rage, and put him upon employing all Means to acquit his Gratitude, and to revenge her of her Enemies. But because it was difficult to surprize or corrupt the Guard which was set over her, he determin'd to go directly to the Source, and by the King's Death to restore the Princess to her Liberty and Authority.

Having fix'd on this Design, he apply'd himself to find out all the Means to accomplish it as soon as possible, suspecting that he shou'd not long be continu'd President of the Palace, but be forc'd to retire to *Braga*. He presently concluded that he must pursue a different Method from that which the King had lately taken: That he shou'd never have the People of his side because of their Aversion to the *Spaniards*; And that

that the King's Advancement being the Work of the Nobility, they wou'd not come into a Design in which they cou'd reap no Advantage. He plainly saw therefore that it was not to be effected but by Means of the Grandees, the Majority of whom, far from assisting the present Revolution, submitted to this Elevation of the House of *Braganza* with great Uneasiness. Therefore having first secur'd the Protection of the *Spanish* Minister, he apply'd himself to the *Marquis de Villareal*.

He represented to this Lord, That the new King being of a fearful and diffident Temper, wou'd seek all Occasions to depress his Family, for fear of leaving his Successor formidable Enemies in too powerful Subjects: That he and the Duke *d'Aveiro*, both of the Blood Royal of *Portugal*, were left out of Employment; while the Places of Trust and Honour were made the Reward of Sedition: That all good Men took notice how Contemptuously he was treated: That he must be forc'd to waste his Life ingloriously in Retirement to his Country-Seat: That he ought to consider he was too great by his Birth and Fortunes to be the Subject
of

of so petty a King ; And that he had lost a Master in the King of *Spain*, who alone, by the considerable Number of Kingdoms and Governments he had in his Disposal, was capable of giving him Employments suitable to his Dignity.

Observing that this Discourse made Impressions on him, he added, That he had Orders from the Court of *Spain* to promise him the Vice-Royalty of *Portugal*, as a Reward for his Fidelity : Not that it was really intended for him by this crafty Prelate, whose Design was to procure the Liberty and Re-establishment of the Princess of *Mantua* ; but he thought it necessary to engage the Marquis de *Villareal* by the strongest Motives. These Considerations, which the Archbishop often suggested to him in a different Manner, prevail'd upon him to put himself at the Head of this Affair, together with his Son the Duke of *Camina*.

The Archbishop, being secure of these two Princes, engag'd the great Inquisitor, his particular Friend. This Man was the more necessary to his Design, because the fixing him wou'd bring in all the Officers of the Inquisition, a Set of People often more terrible to honest Men

Men than to Villains, and who have great Power among the *Portuguese*. He gain'd him by Arguments of Conscience, putting him in Mind of the Oath of Fidelity he had taken to the King of *Spain*, and which ought not to be violated in favour of a Rebel: But probably not without Motives of Interest, by representing to him, that neither of them cou'd hope to keep their Places long under a Prince, who chose to fill all Employments with his own Creatures.

He spent several Months in engaging other Conspirators; the principal of whom were the Commissary of the *Crusada*, the Count d'*Armamar* Nephew of the Archbishop, the Count de *Balleraiis*, Don *Augustin Emanuel*, *Antonio Correa*, (that first Clerk of *Vasconcellos* who was wounded by a Dagger by *Menezes* when the Conspiracy was first Executed) *Lorenzo Pidez Carvabla*, Keeper of the Treasury Royal; all of them Creatures of the *Spaniards*, to whom they had been oblig'd for their Places and Fortunes, and which they cou'd not hope to preserve or recover, but by the return of the *Spanish* Government.

The Jews too, who are very numerous in *Portugal*, and are permitted to live

live there by Means of their outward Conformity to the Christian Religion, had their Part in this Conspiracy. The King had newly refus'd considerable Sums which they offer'd him, to stop the Prosecutions of the Inquisition, and for License to make publick Profession of their Religion. The Archbishop cunningly took Advantage of their resenting this Refusal, and by this Means engag'd them in his Design. He conferr'd with the Heads of them, who were in Despair to think they had made so unhappy a Declaration, and expos'd themselves to all the Cruelties of the Inquisition.

This politick Prelate made the Alarm they were in serve his Design. He assur'd them of his Protection, with the Grand Inquisitor, who, they knew, wou'd act nothing without his Motion. He then possess'd them with the Fear of being driven quite out of *Portugal*, by a Prince who was proud of being a rigorous Catholick; and at the same Time promis'd them, in the Name of the King of *Spain*, Liberty of Conscience, and a Synagogue, if they cou'd help to restore him to his Authority. So violent was his Passion, that he was not asham'd to make use of the Enemies of Jesus Christ

The HISTORY of the

Christ to dethrone his rightful Prince: And perhaps this was the first Time that the Inquisition was known to act in Concert with the Synagogue.

The Conspirators after various Projects fix'd upon this, which was the Archbishop's Thought, and concerted by him with the first Minister of *Spain*; That the Jews, on the 5th of *August* at Night, shou'd set Fire to the four Corners of the Palace, and to several Houses in the City, to keep the People employ'd at their own Dwellings: That the Conspirators shou'd throw themselves into the Palace, under Pretence of helping to extinguish the Fire; and that in the Midst of the Confusion, which necessarily follows such Accidents, they shou'd press to the King's Person and stab him: That the Duke of *Camina* shou'd secure the Queen and the young Princes, to make them, as the Dutchess of *Mantua* had been, Hostages for the Surrender of the Citadel: That at the same Time some shou'd be ready to fire the Fleet: That the Archbishop, and the Grand Inquisitor with all his Officers, shou'd march thro' the City to appease the People, and prevent any Commotion by the Dread of the Inquisition; and that

the

Revolutions in Portugal.

111

the Marquis *de Villareal* shou'd take upon him the Government, till Orders shou'd arrive from *Spain*.

Having no Assurance that the People wou'd declare in their Favour, they wanted Troops to support their Enterprize. They agreed, that they ought to procure a considerable Fleet to be sent by the Duke *d'Olivarez* upon the Coast, which shou'd be ready to enter the Port the Moment the Conspiracy shou'd break out ; and that upon Notice of the Success, he shou'd order all the Troops on the Frontiers to march towards *Lisbon*, to put an End to any further Resistance.

But in order to this, it was very difficult for the Conspirators to settle the necessary Correspondence with the *Spanish* Minister : For since the King was inform'd that the Vice-Queen had writ to *Madrid*, he had plac'd such strict Guards on the Frontiers, that no Person cou'd go out of the Kingdom without his express Leave ; and it was not safe to attempt the corrupting of the Guards, lest they shou'd betray them by delivering up the Letters, or discovering the Attempt on them.

At last, being necessitated to impart their Design to the *Spanish* Minister, without

without whom they cou'd not undertake any thing, and being at a Loss which Way to do this, they cast their Eyes on a rich Merchant of *Lisbon*, who was Treasurer of the Customs, and in Regard to his great Commerce thro' all *Europe*, had particular Leave from the King to send Letters to *Castile*. This Man, whose Name was *Baeza*, publicly profess'd Christianity ; but was one of those who are call'd in *Portugal* *New Christians*, and are always suspected to observe in Secret the Jewish Law. They offer'd him a great Sum of Money to engage in this Enterprize ; which, together with the Perswasions of the Jews who were in the Secret of the Conspiracy, prevail'd upon him, and he undertook to convey their Letters to the Duke d'*Olivarez*.

He directed his Packet to the Marquis d'*Aiamonte*, Governour of the first Frontier-Place in *Spain*; not doubting it wou'd be safe as soon as it was out of the *Portuguese* Dominions.

The Marquis, who was a near Relation and Friend of the Queen of *Portugal*, and was actually in Negotiation with the new King, being surpriz'd to find Letters under the great Seal of the Inqui-

Revolutions in Portugal.

113

Inquisition of *Lisbon*, and directed to the first Minister of *Spain*, immediately open'd them, fearing they might give Information of his private Correspondence with the King and Queen of *Portugal*; and found they contain'd the Plan of a Conspiracy ready to be put in Execution, and which was design'd to destroy the whole Royal Family.

He presently sent back the Packet to the King of *Portugal*; who was astonish'd beyond Expression upon opening the Letters, to find Princes related to him, an Archbishop, and several of the Grandees of his Court, who made a Shew of the greatest Joy at his Advancement to the Throne, in a Conspiracy not only against his Crown but his Life.

He immediately assembled his Privy Council, and in a few Days after pursu'd the Methods there agreed on. The fifth of *August* was the Time when the Plot was to have been put in Action, about Eleven at Night, according to the intercepted Project: The same Day the King caus'd all the Troops which were quarter'd in the neighbouring Towns, to march into *Lisbon* at ten in the Morning, under Pretence of a general Review to be made in the great
I Court

Court of the Palace. He gave privately, with his own Hand, several seal'd Notes to such of his Court as he cou'd most depend on; with strict Orders to each not to open them till Noon, and then to execute punctually the Contents. After this, sending for the Archbishop and the Marquis of *Villareal* into his Closet, under Pretence of Business, he took Care to have them siez'd without Noise about Noon; and at the same Time a Captain of the Guard siez'd the Duke *de Camina* in the great Square. Those who had receiv'd the private Notes opening them, found an Order for each of them to sieze one of the Conspirators, and carry him to such a particular Prison, and keep Guard on him till further Directions. These Measures were so properly taken, and so punctually executed, that in less than an Hour the whole Forty seven Conspirators were siez'd, and not one had a Thought of making his Escape.

The Noise of this Plot being spread thro' the City, the People ran in Crowds to the Palace, and loudly demanded to have the Traytors deliver'd to them. Tho' the King observ'd with Pleasure their Affection to him, this great Concourse, so tumultuously assembl'd, gave him

him

him some Pain. He was afraid they might accustom themselves to these Commotions, which have always somewhat of Sedition: Therefore returning them his Thanks for the Concern they shew'd for his Life, he order'd the Magistrates to disperse them.

Yet, that the Resentment of the People might not abate, who soon change the most violent Rage against Criminals into Sentiments of Compassion, when they consider them only as Men in Misery; the King gave out, that the Conspirators had a Design to assassinate him and all the Royal Family; to fire the City, and plunder what escap'd the Flames; and that the Policy of the *Spaniards*, to prevent all Danger of future Conspiracies, and fully satisfy their Revenge, had made them resolve to people the City with a Colony of *Castilians*, and to send all the Citizens to the Mines in *America*, and bury them alive in that Abyss where they continually destroy such great Numbers of People.

He then appointed Judges to try the Conspirators, who were chosen out of the supreme Court of Justice: To these he joyn'd two *Grandeas* of the Realm, in regard to the Archbishop of *Braga*,

the Marquis *de Villareal*, and the Duke *de Camina*.

The King had order'd the Commissioners not to make use of the Letters which he gave them, if they cou'd convict the Criminals without them, lest the Court of *Spain* shou'd discover his Intimacy with the Marquis *d'Alamonte*, and the Means by which they came into his Hands. And indeed there was no Need to make use of them for Evidence: *Baeza*, at his Examination, betray'd himself upon all the Questions which were asked him; and being afterwards put to the Torture, upon the first Sense of Pain his Courage fail'd him, and he discover'd the whole Plan of the Conspiracy. He confess'd they design'd to have destroy'd the King; that the Office of the Inquisition was full of Arms; and that they only waited for Orders from the Duke *d'Olivarez* to put their Design in Execution.

The greatest Part of the other Plotters were examin'd by Torture, and their Confessions found to agree with those of the Jew. The Archbishop, the Grand Inquisitor, the Marquis *de Villareal*, and the Duke *de Camina*, own'd their Guilt, to avoid the Torture. The Judges sentenc'd the two last to be beheaded, and the

the rest of the Conspirators to be hang'd and quarter'd, excepting the Churchmen, whose Sentence was left to the King.

The King presently call'd a Council, and told his Ministers, That he fear'd the punishing so many Persons of Quality, tho' they were guilty, might be of dangerous Consequence: That the Heads of the Conspiracy being of the greatest Families in the Kingdom, their Relations wou'd be so many secret Enemies to him, and their Thirst of Revenge might be a Source of new Plots: That the Death of Count *Egmont* in *Flanders*, and that of the *Guises* in *France* had each tragical Consequences: That to pardon some, and inflict on the rest a milder Punishment than Death, wou'd gain him the Hearts of all, and put them, their Kindred and Friends, under an Obligation of acting for the Future with Gratitude. That however, tho' his Opinion inclin'd to Lenity, he had summon'd them to know their Sentiments, and with a Resolution to follow that which shou'd appear the best.

The Marquis *de Ferreira* was the first who gave his Opinion to have them executed without Delay. He maintain'd strongly, That on such Occasions a King

shou'd attend only to Justice: That Mildness might have dangerous Consequences: That the pardoning the Criminals wou'd be imputed to the Prince's Weakness, or Fear of their Friends, rather than to his Generosity: That Impunity wou'd bring the Government into Contempt, and encourage the Relations of the Criminals to attempt the rescuing them out of Prison, and perhaps to push the Matter further: That an Example of Severity wou'd be necessary on his coming to the Crown, to terrify any who might be capable of a like Attempt: Besides, That the Criminals were not only guilty against His Majesty's Person, but against the State, which they wou'd have brought into Confusion; and that he ought to have greater Regard to the Justice he ow'd his People, than to his Clemency, at a Time when his own Preservation and the publick Safety were inseparable.

The whole Council being of the same Opinion, the King assented to it, and the Sentence was executed the next Day. The Archbishop of *Lisbon* was willing to save one of his Friends, and solicited the Queen for his Pardon, with the Assurance of a Man who thought nothing cou'd

cou'd be refus'd to his Services: But the Queen, who was sensible of the Justice and indispensable Necessity of the Punishment, and foresaw how a Distinction of this Kind wou'd exasperate the Relations and Friends of the rest, return'd this short Answer to the Archbishop, with a Tone of Voice which wou'd admit of no Reply, *My Lord, the greatest Favour you must expect from me in this Matter, is to forget that you have ever mention'd it.*

The King, to gain upon the Clergy of his Realm, and upon the Court of Rome, who in Regard to the House of Austria refus'd to admit his Ambassadors, chang'd the Sentence of the Archbishop of Braga and the Grand Inquisitor into perpetual Imprisonment. It was given out soon after that the former dy'd of a Distemper in his Confinement; an Accident which often happens to such Prisoners of State as it is not thought prudent to expose on the Scaffold. The Court of Madrid cou'd not for a long Time discover by what Means the King of Portugal had been inform'd of this Conspiracy; and it was only by a new Conspiracy form'd about the same Time against the King of Spain, that they came

to know who it was that had sent the first Advice to *Lisbon* of the Designs of the Archbishop of *Braga*.

The King of *Portugal*, as we have said, kept always a strict Alliance with the Enemies of the *Spanish* Monarchy. His Ports were open to the Fleets of *France* and *Holland*. He had a Resident at *Barcelona*, and amongst the Revolters in *Catalonia*: And he apply'd himself to raise new Commotions in the Heart of *Spain*, which might leave *Philip IV* less at Leisure to regard the Affairs of *Portugal*. The new King had already sow'd some Seeds of Rebellion in the Mind of his Brother-in-law the Duke de *Medina* (*Sidonia*.) The Marquis d'*Aiamonte*, a *Spanish* Lord, who was their mutual Confident, compleated what was begun, and gain'd him over entirely. He was nearly related to the Queen of *Portugal* and the Duke de *Medina*. His Estate lying at the Mouth of the *Guadiana*, near the Frontiers of *Portugal*, favour'd his private Correspondence with this Court; and he hop'd to augment his Fortune, and procure his own Advancement, in that of these two Families. He was a bold enterprizing Man, dissatisfy'd with the Minister, and prepar'd

prepar'd by that Indifference for Life, so necessary to all great Enterprizes.

He wrote privately to the Duke *de Medina Sidonia* to congratulate him upon the Discovery of the Archbishop's Plot, by which he thought to have destroy'd the Queen his Sister and all the Royal Family; and at the same Time insinuated, how much he had Reason to wish that the new King of *Portugal* might preserve a Crown which must one Day descend to his Nephews: That *Portugal* being contiguous to *Castile*, afforded him a Place of Refuge in troublesome Times, and especially during the Ministry of the Duke *d'Olivarez*, whose proud and arbitrary Principles aim'd wholly at depressing the Grandees. He added, That he cou'd not be sure that the Minister, tho' he was his Relation, wou'd let him long enjoy the Government of a great Province so near to *Portugal*: That this was a Matter worthy of his Consideration; and that if he were willing to know further what were his Thoughts, he shou'd send a Man to whom he might open himself with Safety.

The Duke *de Medina Sidonia*, who was naturally proud, and beheld with a secret Jealousy the Advancement of his Brother-

Brother-in-law, perceiv'd that the Marquis's Letter cover'd greater Designs. He presently sent away one *Lopez* of *Castile*, his Confident, to confer with him. The Marquis having read his Credentials, made no Difficulty of disclosing himself; and shewing him with what Ease the Duke of *Braganza* had taken Possession of the Crown of *Portugal*, he told him the Duke *de Medina* cou'd never take a more favourable Opportunity to establish the Fortune of his Family, and make it independent of the Crown of *Spain*.

He represented to him, That the King was exhausted by the War he had so long carry'd on against *France* and *Holland*: That *Catalonia* alone employ'd the best Part of his Troops: That he ought to make an Insurrection in *Andalusia*, and carry the War into the Heart of the Kingdom: That the People, who were oppress'd with Taxes, and always fond of Novelty, wou'd gladly change their Sovereign: That the Duke *de Medina* was no less belov'd in his Government, than the Duke of *Braganza* in *Portugal*: That he ought only to apply himself to gain the particular Governours who were under his Command, yet without letting

letting them into the Secret of his Design: That he shou'd put his Creatures into the most important Posts: That after this it wou'd be easy for him to secure the Galleons, which were continually expected from the *Indies*: That the Silver they were laden with might serve to maintain the War: And that to facilitate the Execution of this Project, the King of *Portugal*, in Concert with him, wou'd send to *Cadiz* a considerable Fleet of his Ships, and those of his Allies, with Troops on board, to subdue those who shou'd prove obstinate, and persist in a vain Fidelity to the King of *Spain*.

The Duke *de Medina* having receiv'd an Account of this Negotiation, was dazled by the Lustre of a Crown. He was Master of the Land and Sea Forces as Captain General and Governour of all the Province; in which he had considerable Towns and much Land. This gave him almost an absolute Authority; and in the first Motions of his Ambition, he thought his Will to be King was the only thing wanting to put a Crown upon his Head, and to free him from acknowledging any superior Authority in *Andalusia*.

He

He presently sent back *Lopez* of *Castile* to the Marquis *d'Aiamonte*, to assure him that he enter'd into his Designs; and to take the strictest Measures with him, especially with Relation to the Court of *Portugal*. In the mean Time he apply'd himself to make sure of his Creatures, and to gain new ones: He vented Complaints against the Government, bewailing the Condition of the Soldiers, who were not pay'd, and of the People, who were oppress'd with Taxes.

The Marquis *d'Aiamonte* being inform'd of his Disposition, employ'd all his Thoughts in reducing their Projects to a fix'd Plan. The Business was how to confer with the King of *Portugal*. The Marquis was too well known on the Frontiers to venture into that Kingdom: He therefore singl'd out for so nice a Negotiation an intriguing Monk, who had been always attach'd to his Fortune, and whose Habit, so much rever'd in those Countries of the Inquisition, wou'd render him less suspected. This Man, of the Order of *St. Francis*, whose Name was *Nicola de Velasco*, went to *Castro-Marino* the first Frontier Town of *Portugal*, under pre-
tence

tence of treating for the Ransom of a *Castilian*, who was a Prisoner in that Place. The King of *Portugal*, by Agreement with the Marquis *d'Aiamonte*, caus'd him to be seiz'd as a Spy ; and he was brought in Chains to *Lisbon*, as one who was to be examin'd by the Ministers themselves. He was put in Prison, and guarded there with a seeming Severity ; but soon set at Liberty under Pretence that he came into the Kingdom only to treat for the Freedom of the *Spanish* Officer ; to solicit which he had leave to come to the Palace, that so he might confer with the Ministers without rendering himself suspected by the secret Spies for the Court of *Madrid*.

The King saw him often, and promis'd to reward his Care and Services by making him a Bishop. The *Cordelier* dazzl'd by this Hope, never left the Palace. He made his Court to the Queen, he solicited the Ministers, and even enter'd into the Intrigues of the Courtiers ; and being Ambitious to have the Credit and Favour he enjoy'd observ'd, without directly revealing the Secret of his Negotiation, he betray'd it by his vain and indiscreet Behaviour. The Courtiers, who are always watchful
and

and jealous of a growing Favourite, soon discover'd that his Imprisonment was only a Stratagem to bring him to Court: Various Conjectures were made upon the Business of his Journey, and a *Castilian* Prisoner at *Lisbon* penetrated the whole Secret.

This Man, whose Name was *Sancho*, was a Creature of the Duke *de Medina Sidonia*. He had been Pay-Master to the Army before the late Revolution. The new King had caus'd him to be seiz'd among the rest of the *Castilians* who were then at *Lisbon*, and he groan'd under a hard Captivity. As soon as he heard of the new Interest of the *Cordelier*, and was inform'd of his Country and his Behaviour, he suspected he was at Court to manage some Intrigue; and upon this Suspicion he form'd a Project for his own Liberty. He wrote to the Monk to implore his Protection, in Terms the most respectful, and the most proper to looth his Vanity. In his Letter he complain'd of the King of *Portugal's* having so long kept in a rigorous Confinement a Servant and Creature of his Brother-in-law the Duke *de Medina*: And to make a shew of some probability in what he advanc'd, he sent him a great
Number

Number of Letters which he had receiv'd from that Lord before the Revolution, in which he recommended several Affairs to him with a Confidence and Distinction which seem'd due to his Rank, and to the Protection with which he honour'd him.

The *Cordelier* answer'd *Sancho* in few Words, That he had nothing in greater Regard than the Interests of those who belong'd to the Duke *de Medina* : That he wou'd make it his Business to procure his Liberty ; and only desir'd him to keep the Secret. The cunning *Castilian*, to render himself less suspected, waited some Time for the Effect of his Promises ; after which he wrote to him, and represented, That he had been seven Months a Prisoner : That the Minister of *Spain* seem'd to have forgot him in his Chains : That he heard nothing of his Exchange or Ransom ; and it was from his Care alone that he hop'd for his Liberty.

The Monk, who was willing to make a new Merit with the Duke of *Medina* of *Sancho's* Liberty, ask'd it of the King, and obtain'd it. He went himself to rake the *Castilian* out of Prison ; and offer'd to include him in a Pass which

which the King had granted to some Domesticks of the Dutchess of *Mantua* who were returning to *Madrid*. But the crafty *Castilian* reply'd, That *Madrid* was grown to him as it were a strange Country: That he cou'd not appear at Court without the Hazard of being thrown into a new Prison: That the Minister, who was severe and inexorable, wou'd not fail to call him to a strict Account for the Money he had receiv'd, tho' his Cash had been taken from him in the Revolution, and they had not so much as left him his Accompts: Adding, to prepossess the *Cordelier*, That he only desir'd to be near his Patron, the Duke *de Medina*; and that this Lord was powerful enough to make his Fortune, without his being oblig'd to go out of *Andalusia*.

The Monk having Occasion for some safe way to give an Account of his Negotiation to the Marquis *d'Aiamonte*, and to receive fresh Orders, cast his Eyes upon the *Castilian*, who appear'd inviolably fix'd in the Interest of the Duke *de Medina*. He kept him at *Lisbon* some Time, under pretence of Negotiating his Pass, but in reality that he might observe him, and be satisfy'd of his Fidelity.

delity. The frequency of their Conversation form'd by degrees a strict Union between them. The *Castilian*, who had the most Wit, made use of it to draw from the *Cordelier* a Secret which escap'd him purely out of Vanity. The latter, to convince him of the Greatness of his Interest, and of the Regard which was had to him, cou'd not forbear telling him, That it wou'd not be long before he shou'd see him in another Habit: That he was sure of having a Bishoprick, and did not despair of arriving at the *Roman Purple*. *Sancho* to draw the secret from him, pretended not to believe it; at which the *Cordelier* being touch'd, added; And what will you say, if you see a Crown on the Head of the Duke *de Medina*? *Sancho* by affected Doubts drew him on gradually to entrust him intirely with his Designs. He told him at last, he was charg'd with a Negociation in which crown'd Heads were engag'd: That he wou'd soon see the Duke *de Medina* Sovereign of *Andalusia*: That the Marquis *d'Aiamonte* manag'd this great Affair: That it was this *Spanish* Lord, who had discover'd to the King of *Portugal* the late Conspiracy: That there wou'd be an intire Change thro' all the *Spanish* Dominions;

K

and

and for his own Particular, he cou'd assure him of a considerable Fortune if he wou'd only undertake to deliver to the Duke and the Marquis the Letters he wou'd intrust him with. *Sancho* transported that he was now Master of so important a Secret, repeated the Assurance he had given him often before of his Devotedness to the Interests of the Duke *de Medina*. He took the Letters and told him, if it were judg'd convenient, he shou'd think it his Happiness to bring the Answer to them himself. He then departed for *Andalusia*; but as soon as he got into the *Spanish* Territories, he took the Road to *Madrid*. Immediately upon his Arrival he went to the Minister's House, and signify'd to him that *Sancho*, Pay-Master of the Army in *Portugal*, was escap'd out of Prison, where he had been confin'd by the Usurper; and had an Affair of great Consequence to impart to him.

The Duke *d'Olivarez*, who was naturally proud and difficult of Access, sent him Word that he shou'd come on the usual Days of Audience. *Sancho* upon this Repulse cry'd out aloud, That he must speak with him: That it was about a Matter which concern'd the

the safety of the Kingdom ; and call'd Heaven to witness his Fidelity, and the Diligence he had us'd to bring the Minister Information of it.

This vehement Discourse being reported to the Duke, he order'd he shou'd be admitted. *Sancho* threw himself at his Feet, and told him he had sav'd the State by admitting him to his Presence. He gave him an Account of the Manner of his being siez'd in the late Revolution, and then proceeded to the Conspiracy of the Duke *de Medina Sidonia*. He discover'd to him all the Contrivance, the Engagement with the King of *Portugal*, the Design of siezing the Galleons, of delivering *Cadiz* into the Hands of the King's Enemies, and of turning against him the Forces the Duke *de Medina* commanded in *Andalusia* for his Service ; and to justify all he affirm'd, he deliver'd him several of the Monk's Letters, written in Cyphers to the Marquis *d' Aiamonte*, and to the Duke *de Medina*, containing the Plan of the Conspiracy.

The Duke *d' Olivarez* at first appear'd in a Consternation at such unexpected News, and for some Time spoke not a Word ; but after he had recover'd him-

self, he assum'd a more pleasing Look than usual, and commended *Sancho's* Loyalty, adding, that he deserv'd to be doubly rewarded, first for having unravell'd such pernicious Designs, and then for having made no Scruple of discovering them to the nearest Relation even of the chief Conspirator. He caus'd him to be conducted into a retir'd Apartment, with Orders that no Body shou'd be suffer'd to speak with him; and went himself directly to the King, giving him an Account of all he had learn'd, and delivering to him the *Cordelier's* Letters.

Philip was shock'd at the Thought of so black a Design. The extravagant Pride of the *Guzmans* had long provok'd his Jealousy and Hatred; and reflecting at the same Time on his late Loss of *Portugal*, which he imputed to the Ambition of the Dutcheß of *Braganza*, he cou'd not forbear telling the Minister in a way of Reproach, That all the Misfortunes of *Spain* were owing to his Family. This Prince wanted neither Penetration nor Capacity, but he was a Lover of Pleasure, and hated Business: All Application was troublesome to him; and he wou'd gladly have resign'd Part of his Dominions, to have been wholly indulg'd

indulg'd in his natural Sloth : Therefore as soon as he had vented his Choler, he gave back the Letters to the Duke without looking into them, and order'd him to let them be examin'd by three Councilours of State, who shou'd report to him the Contents.

This was making the Minister Master of the whole Affair, who chose for the purpose three of his own Creatures. They decipher'd the Letters, and *Sancho* was several Times heard by them. The Business was, how to make him speak so as to clear the Duke *de Medina*, whom the Minister was inclin'd to save. He sent for him before he appear'd to the Commissioners, and putting on those Appearances of intire Confidence with which the Great use to captivate those they have Occasion for ; Which way, my good *Sancho*, says he, can we clear the Duke *de Medina* from an Accusation which is only grounded upon the Letters of an obscure Monk, who probably may have been corrupted by our Enemies to bring in question the Fidelity of a Person who is so serviceable to his Majesty in *Andalusia* ?

Sancho, animated by the Truth of his Deposition, and fearing, perhaps, that

by weakning it he shou'd lose the Reward he expected, persisted to maintain with the greatest Assurance, That there was a Plot form'd against the Government; That the Duke was at the Head of it, and the Marquis *d'Aiamonte* the principal Negociator: That he had seen Letters of it in the Monk's Hands; and that there wou'd infallibly be an Insurrection in *Andalusia*, if the ill Designs of the Governour were not timely prevented.

The Minister, who was unwilling that this Matter shou'd be search'd to the Bottom, took his Opportunity to speak of it to the King. He told him, That they had decipher'd the *Cordelier's* Letters: That in all Appearance he had been suborn'd to ruine the Duke *de Medina*: That it was possible *Sancho* himself might be deceiv'd by this intriguing Monk: That no Letters were produc'd from the Duke, nor Witnesses to depose in Form against him; and that the whole Accusation turn'd upon Letters, which might be the Effect of Calumny. That however, since there cou'd not be too great Caution us'd in so important an Affair, it was his Opinion that the Duke shou'd be immediately
recall'd

recall'd from his Government, where it wou'd not be easy to sieze him: That Troops shou'd be sent into *Cadiz* with a new Commander; and the Marquis *d'Aiamonte* at the same Time shou'd be secur'd: And that if they were found criminal, his Majesty might leave them to the utmost Rigour of Justice.

The Minister's Councils were even more imperious Laws to the Prince than to his Subjects. *Philip*, who was mild and slothful, and averse from shedding Blood, told him he left the Conduct of this Affair to him. The Minister immediately dispatch'd his Nephew *Don Lopez de Haro* with Orders to tell the Duke, That whether he were innocent or guilty, he shou'd come away immediately to Court: That he might depend upon a Pardon if he were guilty; but he were undone if he delay'd a Moment to obey the King's Orders. Another Courier took Care to have the Marquis *d'Aiamonte* siez'd; and the Duke *de Ciudadreal* at the same Time march'd into *Cadiz* at the Head of five thousand Men.

The Duke *de Medina* was overwhelm'd with this News. He had no Course to take but either to obey the Order, or to save himself in *Portugal*.

But the Thought of passing the rest of his Life as an Out-law, and in a strange Country, appear'd unworthy a Man of his Rank. He cou'd see no Room for him in *Portugal*; and knowing the absolute Power the Duke *d'Olivarez* had over the King, he resolv'd to resign himself to the Faith of this Minister. He set forward, and made such Haste to *Madrid*, that his prompt Obedience dispos'd the King to believe him innocent, or to pardon him if he were guilty.

The Duke went to the Minister, and after having receiv'd fresh Assurance of his Favour, open'd to him the Plan of the Conspiracy, the Project of which he threw entirely upon the Marquis *d'Aimonte*. The Minister privately introduc'd him to the King in his Closet: The Duke threw himself at his Feet full of Tears, and in this Posture confess'd his Crime, and ask'd Pardon in the most moving Expressions. The King, who was naturally mild, yielded to Compassion, mingled his Tears with the Duke's; and told him he granted him a Pardon in regard of his Penitence, and of the Entreaties made in his Behalf by the Duke *d'Olivarez*: He then dismiss'd him. But as it was not proper to expose

pose him to a new Temptation in so nice a Conjuncture, he had Orders to remain at Court: Part of his vast Riches too were confiscated, which had only serv'd to inspire him with the Ambition of Independence; and the King plac'd a Governour and a Garrison in the City of *St. Lucar de Barameda*, the ordinary Residence of the Dukes *de Medina-Sidonia*.

The Minister, to perswade the King of the sincere Penitence of his Relation, propos'd to this Lord that he shou'd challenge the Duke of *Braganza* to a Duel. The Duke *de Medina* at first appear'd surpriz'd at this Proposal. He told the Minister that Duelling was prohibited both by divine and humane Laws; but finding the Minister insist upon his Design, he added, That it wou'd be a great Trouble to him to come to these Extremities with his Brother-in-law, at least if the King did not procure a Bull from the Pope, to cover him from the greater Excommunication with which the Church punishes Duellists.

The Minister reply'd, That it was no Time to rest upon these Scruples: That he ought to think of meriting his Pardon by some gallant Action, which might remove the publick Jealousy of his

his Correspondence with Rebels: And added, That if he was absolutely resolv'd not to fight, it shou'd suffice if he wou'd not disown the Cartel which he wou'd take Care to get publish'd in his Name. The Duke, who was satisfi'd that all this which was demanded from him wou'd end only in a Show design'd to amuse the People, consented to a Cartel. The Duke *d'Olivarez* himself drew it up. Great Numbers of Copies were spread in *Spain*, *Portugal*, and in most of the Courts of *Europe*: And we shall here insert it as a singular Piece, more befitting a Knight-Errant than a Grandee of *Spain*, who was honour'd with such great Dignities.

Don

Don Gaspar Alonzo Perez de Gusman, Duke of Medina Sidonia; Marquis, Count and Lord of St. Lucar de Barameda; Captain General of the Main Ocean, the Coasts of Andalusia, and the Armies of Portugal; Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to his Catholick Majesty.

Whom God Preserve.

I affirm, that as the Treason of John late Duke of Braganza is a thing Notorious to all the World; so it is known with how detestable an Intention he wou'd have thrown Stains of Infidelity upon the most faithful House of the Guzmans, which for many Ages has continu'd and will continue in Obedience to the King their Master, and prov'd such by so much Blood spilt in this Cause. This Tyrant has insinuated to all Foreign Princes, and to those deluded Portuguese who follow his Party, to give Reputation to his Wickedness, to animate them in his own Favour, and to ruine me, but in vain, with my Master, (whom God Preserve)

serve) that I am of his Opinion ; grounding and establishing his own Preservation upon the Report he caus'd to be spread of this, and with which he has infected many ; promising himself, that if he cou'd gain this Point to make the King of Spain suspect my Fidelity, he shou'd not find so great an Opposition from me as he has met with in all his Designs. And to accomplish this, he has made use of a Friar, who was sent by the Magistrates of the City d'Aiamonte to Castro-Marino in Portugal, to deliver a Prisoner ; which Friar having been carry'd Prisoner to Lisbon, was dealt with to say I was of his Party ; publishing some Letters in Confirmation of this, and that I wou'd give free Entrance and Encouragement to all the Foreign Forces which shou'd come on the Coast of Andalusia.

All this was in order to facilitate the sending Succours which he ask'd of the Foreign Princes aforesaid ; and would to God they were sent. I wou'd make the World a Witness of my Zeal, and of the Loss of their Ships ; as they wou'd have experienc'd by the Orders I had left, if they had made any such Attempt.

These are some of my Motives ; but the principal Ground of my Displeasure is, that his Wife is of my Blood, which being corrupted

rupted by this Rebellion, I desire to shed it ;
and think my self oblig'd to let the King my
Master see by this Action my grateful Sense
of the Satisfaction he shews he has of my
Fidelity, and to give the same likewise to
the Publick, to remove those Doubts they
may have conceiv'd from the false Impressions
which have been given to them.

For this Reason it is that I defy the
said late John Duke of Braganza, as hav-
ing falsify'd his Faith to his God and his
King ; and do challenge him to single Com-
bat, Body against Body, with or without
Seconds ; which I leave to his Choice, as
also the Weapons. The Place shall be near
Valentia d'Alcantara, in that part which
serves as Limits to the two Kingdoms of
Portugal and Castile ; where I will ex-
pect him fourscore Days, to begin the first
of October, and end the 19th of Decem-
ber this present Year. The last twenty
Days I will be in Person in the said Place of
Valentia, and the Day which he shall no-
tifie to me I will wait for him on these
Limits ; which Time, tho' it be long, I give
the said Tyrant, to the end he himself, the
greatest Part of the Kingdoms of Europe,
and all the World may know it : With this
further Proposal, that he assure the
Knights I shall send to him, he will grant
Security

Security for the space of a League in Portugal, as I will likewise grant to those he shall send on his Part a League in Castile: And I undertake to make him then understand more at large the Infamy of the Action he has been guilty of. And if he is wanting to this Obligation, as a Gentleman, of appearing to answer the Challenge I give him; then, to exterminate this Phantom by the only Means which will be left me, seeing he has not the Courage to enter into this Combat; and in Order to shew my self such as I am, and such as my Family has always been in the Service of their Kings, (as his Family on the contrary have been Traytors) I offer from this Time, with the Leave of his Catholick Majesty, (whom God preserve) to any one who shall kill him, my City of St. Lucar de Barameda, the principal Seat of the Dukes de Medina-Sidonia: And prostrating my self at the Feet of his said Majesty, I entreat him not to give me on this Occasion the Command of his Armies, forasmuch as there will be Occasion for a Prudence and Moderation which my Choler will not render me capable of in this Occurrence; permitting me only to serve him in Person with a thousand Horse of my Vassals, to the End that relying on my Courage, I
may

may not only serve to the Restoration of Portugal and the punishing of this Rebel, but that my Person and those of my Troops, in Case he refuses my Challenge, may bring alive or dead this Man to the Feet of his said Majesty. And to omit nothing which my Zeal can do, I offer one of the best Towns of my Estate to the first Portuguese Governour or Captain who shall deliver up some Place from the Crown of Portugal, tho' of little Importance, to the Service of his said Catholick Majesty: Always remaining dissatisfy'd with whatever I shall be able to do for his said Majesty, because all I have I owe to him and to his glorious Ancestors. Done at Toledo the 29th of September, 1641.

The Duke *de Medina*, in Execution of his Cartel, did not fail to present himself at the Place of Combat. He appear'd compleatly arm'd, and guarded by Don *Juan de Garra* Major General of the *Spanish* Troops. The Chamades and usual Summons were given, but no Body appear'd in Behalf of the King of Portugal. This Prince was too wise to act any Part in the Comedy; and tho' the Affair had been more serious, it was not

not proper for a Sovereign to engage with a Subject of his Enemy.

While the *Spanish* Minister amus'd the People with this idle Show, he took Care at the same Time to make all the Resentment of the King and the Rigour of the Law fall upon the Marquis *d'Aiamonte*. This Lord was seiz'd, and the Business now was to draw from him a Confession of his Crime. He flatter'd him with Hopes of a Pardon; and made it be suggested to him, that he might expect, as well as the Duke *de Medina*, to taste of the Clemency of the best of Kings: But that Kings, like God, whose liveliest Image they are upon Earth, do not pardon Faults without the sincere Repentance and ingenuous Confession of the Criminal.

The Marquis, deluded by these Promises, and especially by the Example of the Duke his Accomplice, sign'd whatever was desir'd. His own Confession was made use of for his Tryal, and he was sentenc'd to lose his Head. He heard this Sentence, which was pronounc'd in the Evening, with a surprizing Tranquility, and without so much as complaining of the Duke or of the Minister. He afterwards supp'd as usually, and slept

He slept so soundly all Night, that they were forc'd to wake him to go to his Execution. He went thither without speaking a Word, and dy'd with a Firmness of Mind worthy of a better Occasion.

The King of *Portugal* seeing this Project thus defeated, thought no more of maintaining himself on the Throne but by open Force, and by the Assistance of his Allies. *France* aided him powerfully, and made a Merit of protecting the most ancient Branch of the last Race of its Kings; besides that this foreign War made an useful Diversion, and employ'd a good Part of the Forces of *Spain*.

The *Portuguese* gain'd several Advantages over the *Spaniards*, whom they always kept at a Distance from their Frontiers. The King of *Portugal* might even have penetrated into *Castile*, if he had been furnish'd with abler Generals, and a Body of regular Troops; but the greatest Part of his Army was compos'd of Militia, who were fitter to march up and down, than to keep the Field. He often too wanted Money to pay them: He had abolish'd the greatest Part of the Imposts at his coming to the Crown, to make himself more agreeable to the
L People;

People; and it wou'd have been dangerous to re-establish them at the Beginning of a new Reign. He maintain'd the War against the *Spaniards* for almost seventeen Years. *Spain* had not then more able Generals than *Portugal*: Each Nation preserv'd it self rather by the Weakness of its Adversary, than by its own Strength; and the Scarcity of Money to which *Philip IV* was reduc'd at the End of his Reign, serv'd instead of Wealth to the King of *Portugal*. This Prince dy'd on the 6th of *November*, 1656. His Character not affording many shining Vertues, the *Portuguese* celebrate his Piety and Moderation. It is objected to him by impartial Historians that he had too little Courage, and an extreme Distrust both of himself and others: That he was difficult of Access to the Grantees, familiar and open only to his Ancient Domesticks, and chiefly to his Confessor. That which seem'd to be the Result of his Prudence is to be imputed to his unwarlike Temper, which engag'd him wholly in Exercises of Devotion; so that he seem'd to have rather the good Qualities of a private Man than the Vertues of a great King, and ow'd his Crown only to the extreme Hatred of the

the *Portuguese* against the *Spaniards*, and to the Skill which his Wife had to make this Hatred the Means of advancing her Family. The King her Husband in his Will nam'd her Regent, in a firm Perswasion that she, whose Courage had rais'd him to the Throne, wou'd maintain her self on it during the Minority of his Children. He left two Sons and a Daughter; *Alphonso* his eldest Son was near thirteen Years of Age when he succeeded his Father, a young Prince of a dark sullen Humour, and half of his Body Paralytick. The Infante Don *Pedro* was but Eight Years Old; and the Infanta *Catharina* was Elder than either of them, being born before the Revolution. Don *Alphonso* was shewn to the People, and declar'd King in the usual Forms, and the Queen the same Day took upon her the Regency.

This Princess wou'd gladly have distinguish'd the Beginning of her Government by some glorious Action, but her Generals were rather Soldiers than Commanders, there not being one in *Portugal* who was capable of erecting a Fortification or conducting a Siege. Nor was the Council supply'd with abler Ministers; some of them rather apply'd

themselves to make lofty Speeches upon the Necessities of the State than to remedy them; others, not considering the small Number of Forces which were in the Kingdom, form'd nothing but vast Projects; and the Result of these supreme Councils were often Designs injudiciously concerted, and follow'd with ill Success.

1657.

From hence proceeded those considerable Losses of the *Portuguese* before *Oli-venza* and *Badajos*, where they were oblig'd to raise the Siege. They were likewise embroil'd with the *Dutch* about the Trade of the Indies; and *France* by the Peace of the *Pyrenees* seem'd afterwards to be detach'd from their Interest. The Queen found her self destitute of Foreign Alliances, disciplin'd Troops, and able Generals; but it may be said to her Honour that all these were supply'd by the Greatness of her Courage. The Weight of Affairs gave her no Fear or Disturbance; the Justness and Extensiveness of her Capacity were sufficient to every thing; and nothing less than a Regency of such Difficulties cou'd have discover'd her superiour Qualities in their full Lustre. The whole Authority of the Councils was reduc'd to her single Person.

Person: She read all Dispatches her self; nothing escap'd her Care and Foresight, and she carry'd her Views into all the Courts of *Europe* from whence she might hope to draw Succours.

By these noble Applications it was, that she at first brought *Portugal* into a Condition to withstand all the Forces of *Spain*. But finding afterwards that she stood in need of Foreign Troops to discipline her own, and especially of an able General, she cast her Eyes upon *Frederick* Count of *Schomberg*, a Commander who had already been celebrated for his Valour and Capacity. She desir'd to give him the general Command of her Armies; but was oblig'd to sooth the Pride of the *Gouverneur of Arms*, who wou'd not easily have consented to receive Orders from a Forreigner. The Count *de Soure* therefore, her Ambassador in *France*, by her Direction, agreed with Count *Schomberg*, that he shou'd come into *Portugal* at first in the Quality only of Major-General of the Army, but shou'd have the sole Command if the *Gouverneur of Arms* dy'd or quitted his Post.

The Count set out for *Lisbon* with fourscore Officers, both Captains and

1661.

Subalterns, and more than four hundred Horse, all old Soldiers capable of new forming the *Portuguese* Troops and commanding them. He pass'd first into *England*, and saw King *Charles* the II, who was then newly restor'd to his Dominions. He had private Orders to try whether this Protestant Prince wou'd be inclin'd to Marry the Infanta of *Portugal*. The Count acquitted himself of his Commission skillfully and with Success, and brought the King and the Lord Chancellour *Hyde* to desire this Alliance. The Queen being assur'd of this favourable Disposition, sent the Marquis *de Sanda* into *England* to continue the Negociation. The King of *Spain*, who foresaw the Consequences, omitted nothing which was in his Power to traverse it. He offer'd King *Charles* no less than the Sum of three Millions if he wou'd espouse a Protestant Princess: And his Ambassadour propos'd the Princess of *Denmark*, of *Saxony*, and of *Orange*, telling him that the King his Master wou'd marry the Princess to him which he shou'd choose, as his own Daughter. But the Lord Chancellour so forcibly represented to the King how much it was his Interest to maintain the

House

House of *Braganza* on the Throne, and not to suffer the whole *Spanish* Countries to be under the Dominion of the same Prince, that he determin'd him to marry the Infanta. Thus did a Protestant Minister induce his King to a Match with a Catholick Princess; whilst a Prince of that Communion, and who affected by way of Preference the Title of the Catholick King, offer'd Money to engage him to marry a Protestant. So true it is, that Reason of State is the chief Religion of Princes, who only consult their Interest.

May 31,
1662.

The King of *England*, in favour of this Alliance, set on foot a Treaty of Commerce between the States General and *Portugal*. He sent into this Kingdom a considerable Body of Troops under the Command of the Earl of *Inchequin*, but afterwards recalling him, he order'd them to obey Count *Schomberg*; so that this Nobleman soon after his Arrival commanded the Forces of three Sovereign Princes. The *Portuguese* indeed had their own General, but this was only a Title to flatter the Vanity of some Grandees: The Count had the Queen's Confidence and the whole Authority, which he employ'd to estab-

blish an exact Discipline in the Army. He taught the *Portuguese* the Order they ought to observe in their Marches, together with the Art of encamping advantageously; and afterwards made regular Fortifications at most of the Frontier Places of the Kingdom, which before his Arrival were without Defence.

The Regent having got so able a General, push'd the War vigorously; her Arms were almost every where successful: Never were the Troops in so good a Condition, or so well disciplin'd. The People bless'd her Government, and Fear and Respect held the Grandees in perfect Submission. But this happy State was chang'd by domestick Discontents, and Intrigues, which gave all the Court a new Face.

While the Regent was so successfully employ'd in securing the Crown on the Head of the King her Son, this Prince render'd himself unworthy of it by the Irregularity of his Conduct. He was of an abject Mind and a fullen and savage Temper; the Authority of the Queen-Mother became insupportable to him: He rejected with Scorn the Advice of his Ministers, and cou'd not bear the Company of the Lords who were plac'd about him.

him. His whole Delight was to entertain himself with Negroes and Mulattoes, or with young Persons of the Scum of the People : Of these he had form'd himself a little Court, in spite of all the Care of his Governour : He call'd them his Bravoes, they were his ordinary Guard, and he rambl'd with them in the Night-time thro' the Streets of *Lisbon*, abusing all who were so unhappy as to fall in his Way.

The Extravagance of his Humour was first occasion'd by a Palsy, with which he had the Misfortune to be seiz'd when he was but four years old, and which had left behind it terrible Impressions. His Faults were at first conniv'd at, to avoid adding too severe an Education to an infirm Infancy, and in Hopes that as his Body grew stronger his Mind wou'd be more civiliz'd. But this Treatment only increas'd his Barbarity : His Health was indeed improv'd by Time and Medicines ; the most violent Exercises did not in the least incommode him : He handled his Arms well, and was a very good Horse-man ; but his Temper was always alike Fierce : He had more Fury than Reason ; and as Youth brought on the Season of Passions, he

he fill'd the Court with leud Women, and often search'd after them in Places of Debauchery, where he spent the Night in the most cheap and scandalous Pleasures.

The Regent, pierc'd to the Heart with sorrow, judg'd truly that such monstrous Extravagances wou'd in Consequence make him lose the Crown; and further that by his meer Incapacity he wou'd destroy the Work of so many Years, and the Fruit of her Labours. She thought more than once to have got him confin'd, and to have plac'd the Infante in his Room. The Fear of raising a Civil War, of which the *Spaniards* wou'd certainly have made their Advantage, was the only thing that deterr'd her from so bold an Attempt: She hop'd too she might be able to reclaim him by removing from him one *Conti*, a Merchant's Son, whom he had made his chief Favourite and the secret Minister of his Pleasures. This Person being seiz'd by her Order, was immediately clapp'd on board a Vessel, and carry'd to *Brazil*, with a Prohibition of returning to *Portugal* under Pain of Death. The King was at first in a Consternation at the Removal of his Favourite, but afterwards assum'd a more sedate

sedate Air, and appear'd more tractable. The Queen was highly pleas'd with the Method she had taken, and her Ministers and the whole Court congratulated her upon an Attempt which had met with so good Success.

But the King's seeming Tranquility was a Cover to deep Designs, which the Regent did not believe he was capable of; and she who had so great a Skill in penetrating the Hearts of the most refin'd Courtiers, was cheated by the Disimulation of a weak Prince.

The King had disclos'd his Grief to the Count *de Castel-Melhor*, a Portuguese Lord of great Birth, an artful Courtier, and full of Ambition; but better qualify'd to manage a Court Intrigue than the Affairs of State. The Count took the Opportunity of this Discovery to work himself into the Place of the Favourite, under Colour of bewailing his Disgrace, and endeavouring his Restoration. He told the King he might thank himself for *Conti's* Misfortune: That he was King, and had been long pass'd his Minority: That he needed only shew that he was resolv'd to reign, and he wou'd soon see the Regent lose her Power; and he might afterwards
bring

bring back his Favourite in Triumph over the Queen and all his Enemies.

The King, flatter'd by Counsels so agreeable to his Inclination, gave himself up entirely to his Confidence. In the mean Time their League was a Secret ; and the Count had oblig'd the King to use this Precaution, that he might not be suspected by the Queen. However she perceiv'd the new Favour he had gain'd ; and meeting him in the King's Retinue, she took him by the Arm, and with a Look which fill'd all who were present with Terrour, Count, says she, *I am well inform'd that the King has made you his Confident ; if he acts any thing contrary to my Will, you shall answer it to me with your Head.*

The Count made no Reply to these threatning Words but by a profound Reverence, and follow'd the King, who call'd him. As soon as he saw himself alone with him, he told him what the Queen had said ; adding that he was upon the Point of suffering the same Fate with *Conti*, but he shou'd be satisfy'd with it if he cou'd but see his Master deliver'd from so imperious a Regency, since at present he had only the Title of
King

King left him, without Power and without Authority.

This artful Discourse threw the King into the utmost Transports of Passion. He wou'd have gone immediately, and in his own Person have demanded from the Regent the Seals, which are the Marks of supreme Authority; but the Count, who knew his Weakness, and the absolute Power the Queen had over him, advis'd him to retire to *Alcantara* without seeing her, and from thence to send Expresses to the Magistrates of *Lisbon*, and to the Governours of the Provinces, to let them know he had taken into his own Hands the Government of his Dominions. The King therefore by his Advice in the Evening disguis'd himself, and, attended only by the Count and his Friends, arriv'd at *Alcantara* in the Night. The next Day he wrote to the Secretaries of State to come to him: He sent for the *German* Guard; and he caus'd it to be signify'd thro' all the Realm, that the Regency of the Queen-Mother was by his Majority expir'd.

The greatest Part of the Noblemen of the Court immediately came to *Alcantara*: The Queen's Court was deserted; and she soon perceiv'd that a borrow'd
Autho-

Authority subsists no longer than it is supported by the rightful Power.

However she was not lost to her self, and the noble and generous Manner in which she resign'd the sovereign Command shew'd that she deserv'd to have kept it longer, and that she had only prolong'd her Regency for the Good of the State. She wrote to the King her Son to acquaint him, That he ought not to take Possession of his Throne as it were by Stealth, like an Usurper: That he shou'd come to the Palace the next Day; and that in an Assembly of the Grandees, and of the chief Magistrates of the City, she wou'd deliver into his Hands the Seals and the Government of his Kingdom. The King accordingly return'd to *Lisbon*; and the Queen, in Execution of her Promise, summon'd the Grandees of the Kingdom, the Titulars, and Chiefs of every Order; and in their Presence, presenting the Seals to the King, said, *I deliver to you the Seals which have been committed to me with the Regency of your Dominions, by Vertue of the Will and Testament of my Lord the King deceas'd: I give them into your Majesty's Hand, with the Authority belonging to them; and I pray God that e-*
very

every thing may prosper under your Conduct as I wish. The King took them, and gave them to the Secretary of State. The Infante and all the Grandees kiss'd his Hand, and acknowledg'd him again as their Sovereign.

The Queen had declar'd her Resolution to retire in six Months to a Convent, and took that Time to see how the Government wou'd be manag'd. The Favourite, who stood in Fear of the Greatness of her Genius, and the natural Power of a Mother over her Son, prevail'd with the King to shew her many Incivilities, to oblige her to hasten her Retreat. The Queen, who was naturally haughty, cou'd not bear this want of Respect: She therefore went into a Convent; but had scarce been there a Year, when she dy'd on the 18th of February, 1660. She was a Princess of a superior Genius, and had the Virtues of both Sexes united: She display'd upon the Throne all the great Qualities of a Sovereign, and in her Retirement seem'd to have forgot that she had ever reign'd.

The King being no longer check'd by the Authority of this wise Princess, openly abandon'd himself to his savage Humour. He rambl'd in the Night with

with his Bravoes, and assaulted all he met in the Streets, and often attack'd the Guards and Watch. He never went out in one of these nocturnal Adventures, but the next Day tragical Stories were publish'd. Every Body was afraid of meeting him, and dreaded him as a wild Beast broke from his Den. The Count *de Castel-Melhor* conceal'd those Disorders, which were indeed the Foundation of his Authority, being as good a Courtier as he was a bad Minister, haughty in Prosperity, but in adverse Fortune abject and helpless.

All that *Portugal* subsisted by was the Weakness of *Spain*. King *Alphonso*, whose Power extended no further than the Bounds of his Palace, left entirely to his Favourite the Government of the Kingdom, and reserv'd no more of the sovereign Power, than the Liberty of committing with Impunity all Manner of Extravagancies.

The *Spaniards* flatter'd themselves they cou'd easily subdue *Portugal*, which was govern'd by so weak and mad a Prince. They march'd a considerable Army with Don *John* of *Austria* at their Head, natural Son of *Philip IV*. The King of *Portugal* sent Count *Schomberg* to oppose

pose him; and tho' the Count *de Villa-Flor* had the Title of General, he ow'd the Preservation of the Crown entirely to the Former. This great Captain obtain'd several Victories over the *Castilians*; and it may be said that he had less Difficulty to conquer them, than to overcome the Obstinacy of the *Portuguese* General, who being envious of his Glory, travers'd every Design which he thought wou'd augment it. But *Schomberg* had the Confidence of the Court, and of the Troops, who follow'd chearfully a Commander always attended by Victory.

The Minister assum'd to himself the Glory of these Successes, tho' he had no other Part in them than that of being the first who receiv'd the News. His Credit encreas'd every Day, and under the King's Name he exercis'd the sovereign Authority. He govern'd this Prince like a Machine, whose Springs he mov'd according to his Pleasure and Interest. He made use of his violent Humour to destroy those whom he suspected: By this Means he got rid of most of the Regent's Ministers, and supply'd their Places with his own Creatures. The Council and all the Court took a new Face, and no Body kept his

M

Station

Station in either, but as he was useful or agreeable to the Minister. He had the Dexterity to get *Conti*, his Master's first Favourite, who had been recall'd from *Brazil* not long before, banish'd again. *Conti* was formidable to him by the Inclination the King still had for him: As soon therefore as he heard of his being landed, he procur'd an Order forbidding him to come to Court, and sent it by the same Express which the King dispatch'd to congratulate his Return. This unhappy Prince, who was a Slave to his Minister, durst not see his Favourite but in private; and the Count, to break intirely a Commerce which might have ruin'd his Fortune, accus'd *Conti* as an Accomplice in a Plot against the King; of which he had neither Proof nor Witness, and which wanted even the Appearance of Truth, yet serv'd him as a Pretence to destroy his Rival.

The Minister having thus got rid of *Conti*, turn'd his Eyes on the Infante Don *Pedro* the King's Brother. This young Prince was growing into Esteem: He discover'd noble Inclinations, and drew upon him the Wishes of all the *Portuguese* by the Regularity of his Conduct, and

and by their Comparison of it with that of the King.

The Count plac'd his own Brother in the Infante's Houshold, with a Prospect that he might early insinuate into his Confidence, and that by this Means he himself might govern both the Brothers at the same Time. The young Prince receiv'd him well, and treated him with Distinction, but gave him no Part in his Favour, the Place being fill'd already. The Regent, who had always regarded the Infante as the only Prop of the Royal Family, had plac'd early about him the ablest Heads in the Kingdom: By the Suggestion of wise Governours and faithful Friends, this young Prince was made to consider, that it was not impossible he might ascend the Throne, if the King went on in his Extravagancies; and that it was not certain that the King cou'd ever have Children: But he was made sensible at the same Time of the Credit and Artifices of the Count, who was interested by his own Greatness to prolong the Reign of *Alphonso*. These different Prospects insensibly form'd two Cabals at Court: That of the Count was the more numerous, who had for him all those

that without Distinction adhere to the Source of Favours ; but the old Ministers, who foresaw that a Government so violent as that of the King cou'd not last long, and the greatest Lords of the Kingdom, who cou'd not bear the Thoughts of bending under the Authority of a Favourite, made their Court to the Infante, as to the Heir presumptive of the Crown.

The Count observing that the Party who oppos'd him supported themselves only by Reports which they spread of the King's Infirmary, resolv'd to disperse them by this Prince's Marriage. By his Advice it was that he apply'd himself to *France*, and obtain'd for Wife *Mary Elizabeth Frances de Savoy*, Daughter of *Charles Amadeus*, Duke of *Nemours*, and of *Elizabeth de Vendome*. *Cesar d'Estrees* her Uncle, who according to the Custom of *Britany* was Bishop and Duke of *Laon*, so well known thro' all *Europe* by the Name of the Cardinal *d'Estrees*, conducted her to *Portugal*. He was attended by the *Marquis de Ruigny* Ambassador Extraordinary of *France*, and by a great Number of Gentlemen and Persons of Quality, who were Servants and Friends of the House of *Savoy*, or
De.

Dependents on those of *Vendome* and *d'Estrees*.

The Ceremony of this Marriage was solemniz'd with great Magnificence in several Entertainments. All the Court admir'd the Beauty of the young Queen; the Infante appear'd sensibly touch'd with it; the King alone remain'd indifferent to her Charms; and it was not long before it was suspected, that the Quality of Queen and Wife to the King were but vain Titles, under which it was endeavour'd to cover that Prince's Weakness.

The Minister had flatter'd himself that he shou'd govern this young Princess with the same Arbitrariness he exercis'd over the King his Master. He had a great Respect for her at first, but he soon perceiv'd she had too much Courage to be a Dependent on one of her Subjects; he therefore in Revenge lost no Opportunity to let her see his Power. The Affairs of State were industriously conceal'd from her; those in which she seem'd to take part always came to nothing; the Queen's Recommendation was to the Minister a Pretence of Exclusion. After this the Pensions of her Household and her own Revenue were stopp'd, un-

der Pretence that the Charges of the Government and the War exhausted the Treasury. And the King, who was manag'd by his Favourite, and let loose his Rage against all such as were disagreeable to him, offer'd such Outrages to the Infante and to the Queen, that the Latter was often seen to leave his Apartment all in Tears.

Her Beauty, her Misfortunes, together with the Complaints of the Ladies of the Court, and of her Servants, whose Sallaries were unpay'd, gain'd her the Pity of all who were not Slaves to Dependence; and this form'd a third Party at Court. The Queen's Sterility was a daily Subject of Discourse, tho' it was not quite a Year that she had been marry'd.

Care was taken to encrease the publick Suspensions, on the Occasion of a Door which the King had caus'd to be made by the Bed-side in the Queen's Chamber, tho' he only kept the Key. The Queen appear'd alarm'd at a Novelty which expos'd, as she said, her Virtue and her Reputation. Her Party reported, that the Minister was resolv'd the Queen shou'd have Children at any Rate; and that he design'd by the help of this Door
to

to cover the King's Reproach at the Expence of the Queen's Honour.

She discover'd her Scruples of Conscience to her Confessor, and by his Order confided them likewise to the Confessor of the Infante. These two Ecclesiasticks prompted the Queen and the Infante to act in Concert on so nice an Occasion, in which they both had so great Interests, tho' in Appearance opposite. It was agreed by their Creatures that it wou'd not be impossible to reconcile them, and the first Designs of the Regent were now reviv'd. These two Cabals united, and afterwards made one Party. The Queen had the Prudence to engage Count *Schomberg* in it, who was at the Head of the Army; and the Infante, who set no Bounds to his Desires and his Hopes, made sure in the mean Time of the chief Magistrates of the City, and of those who had Credit among the People.

The King of himself was but a Shadow of Royalty, and easy to be destroy'd; but he was supported by a dextrous and ambitious Minister, and one who knew how to make use of the respected Name of a Sovereign. The principal Task was to force from Court so cunning a Man,

who wou'd not be dispossest'd of the Government but as late as possible. They privately gain'd one of his Friends, who inform'd him that the Infante imputed to him all the ill Usage he met with from the King: That he had Sworn his Destruction; and that he cou'd not be safe if he continu'd at Court. The Minister, who was naturally fearful, publish'd this Information; and made it a Pretence to double the Guards, and to arm all the Officers of the Court; and wou'd have had the King himself march at their Head, and sieze the Infante in his Lodgings. But the King, who was so furious by Night against such as made no Defence, rejected a Design which he foresaw wou'd meet with Resistance; and satisfy'd himself with writing to the Infante to come to him. The Infante refus'd it, under Pretence of injurious Reports, which, he said, the Count had spread against him; and represented to the King, that the Minister was Master of the Palace, and that he cou'd not enter there till he were withdrawn. The King and the Infante interchang'd several Letters on the same Subject, which were publish'd. The King at last offer'd to send the Count to throw himself

self at his Feet and ask his Pardon; but the Infante, who had greater Views than to have Satisfaction for a Report of which he himself was privately the Author, persisted in his Demand that he shou'd leave the Palace. The Court and City were in a continual Alarm, and every thing tended to a Civil War. The Minister observ'd with Sorrow that Count *Schomberg* was not in his Interest: The greatest part of the *Grandeess* declar'd aloud for Don *Pedro*; and the Count's Friends and Relations signify'd to him that they were resolv'd not to perish with him, and were no longer in a Condition to oppose the Party of the Infante supported by that of the Queen. The Minister seeing himself abandon'd by his Creatures, at last too abandon'd himself, and withdrew out of the Palace by Night, and in Disguise: He first retir'd to a Monastery seven Leagues from *Lisbon*, from whence he pass'd into *Italy*, and sought Protection in the Court of *Turin*.

The Infante after this came to the Palace under Pretence of paying his Duty to the King: Every thing yielded to his Authority, and he discarded all the remaining Creatures of the Minister. The King being destitute of Counsel, was now
in

in a manner at his Discretion; yet this Prince durst not touch the Crown for fear of exposing himself as an Usurper: There was a Necessity that the Sovereign Power shou'd be transferr'd to him by a Legal Authority; and there was none which cou'd serve as a Pretext to so hardy an Action, besides the general Assembly of the States of the Kingdom. The King only cou'd call them together: This was propos'd to him on the common Pretence of the Exigencies of the State; and it was represented to him, that these were such as wou'd not be remedy'd, but by a meeting of his most faithful Subjects. He was not so stupid as not to suspect that such an Assembly was a Conspiracy against his Authority; and possess'd with this Opinion, he avoided for a long Time returning any Answer to several Addresses which the Infante got presented to him by different Communities of the Kingdom. At last the Council prepar'd an Act which this unhappy Prince was prevail'd on to sign, by which Means he sign'd his own Destruction and Abdication; by this Act the Assembly was summon'd to meet on the First of *January*, 1668.

The

Revolutions in Portugal.

171

The Infante having gain'd this Point, which he look'd upon as the Foundation of his Advancement, the Queen in Concert with him, appear'd in her Turn upon the Scene. She retir'd at first into a Convent; and as soon as she was there she wrote to the King, that being touch'd in Conscience, she thought her self oblig'd to leave the Court; that no Body knew better than himself that she was not his Wife; and that she earnestly entreated he wou'd grant her her Dowry, and Leave to return to her own Country and Family.

The King had no sooner receiv'd this Letter, than he run to the Convent like a Madman to take her out by Force; but the Infante, who was more Master in his Capital City than he himself, and had foreseen this Sally, came to the Convent with the Lords of his Party: The King was prevented by him from getting open the Gates, and carry'd back to the Palace, appealing aloud to his Mistresses in Witness of his Health, and threatening alike the Infante and the Queen.

The Infante, little disturb'd at the Menaces of one who was destitute of Counsel or Strength, resolv'd to give the last Blow

Blow to his Authority, and came the
 Novemb. next Day to the Palace. He was accom-
 23, 1667. pany'd by all the Nobility, the Magi-
 strates, and Corporation of the City,
 and an innumerable Crowd of People,
 who follow'd to see the unravelling of
 this great Affair. He enter'd the Palace,
 where all the Council of State expected
 him, and after a short Conference with
 them, he sent to sieze the King in his
 Apartment.

After this they oblig'd him to sign his
 Abdication: However the Infante durst
 not take the Title of King, but content-
 ed himself with that of Regent, con-
 firm'd to him by the States-General of
 the Kingdom, who took to him in this
 Quality the Oath of Fidelity. The first
 Concern of this Prince was to procure a
 Peace with *Spain*; the King of *Eng-
 land* made himself Mediator of it, and
 the King of *Spain* by a solemn Treaty
 February 19, 1668. acknowledg'd the Crown of *Portugal*
 independent.

The Regent, to compleat his Happi-
 ness, wanted to make himself the Hus-
 band of his Sister-in-law. This Prin-
 cess, as she enter'd the Convent, had
 Novemb. 22, 1667. presented a Request to the Cathedral
 Church

Revolutions in Portugal.

173

Church of *Lisbon* during the Vacancy of the See, to desire a Dissolution of a Marriage which had not been consummated after almost fifteen Months Cohabitation.

The Chapter declar'd it null, *without any Evidence but that of the Plaintiff by Negation*: So the Decree runs, *The Impediment being held to be morally certain, and without any Necessity of other Proofs or of longer Delay.* By Means of these Formalities, which the greatest Part of Judges always know how to accommodate to the Inclination of those that govern, the Regent was in a Capacity of marrying the Queen. He was advis'd however for *publick Decorum*, to obtain a Dispensation from the Holy See. Happily, and by a Concourse of good Fortune, which seem'd somewhat premeditated, M. *Verjus* arriv'd from *France* at the same Time with this Dispensation. This Brieve had been obtain'd from the Cardinal *Vendome* Legat *a Latere*, who had been invested with this temporary Dignity to assist at the Ceremony of the baptizing Monseigneur the *Dauphin*. The Bishop of *Tar-* March
ga, Coadjutor of the Archbishop of *3, 1668.*
Lisbon, gave the nuptial Benediction to the

Decemb.
10, 1668.

the Regent and the Queen by Vertue of this Brieve, which was afterwards confirm'd by that of Pope *Innocent IX*, this being thought necessary to the Security of their Consciences and the Tranquility of the Kingdom.

King *Alphonso* was confin'd to the *Tercera* Islands, which are under the *Portuguese* Government. The People, who always interest themselves for the Unfortunate, cry'd aloud, That the Court ought to content themselves with having taken away his Crown and his Wife, without depriving him too of the Liberty of breathing the Air of his own Country. But a dethron'd Prince finds few Protectors : There was not one Grandee who durst speak in his Favour, and it was easily perceiv'd that the Regent wou'd not have pardon'd a Compassion injurious to his Government. Don *Alphonso* remain'd in this Exile to the Year 1675, at what Time the Regent sent for him back to *Portugal*, upon a Suspicion that a Party was form'd to take him out of the Islands *Tercera*, and restore him to the Throne. He dy'd near *Lisbon* in the Year 1683; and by his Death the Regent at last took

took the Title of King, which he wanted, and which was the only thing he had not wrested from this unhappy Prince.

F I N I S.

187

Revolutions in Portugal

...the King, which he
...and which was the only thing
...had not witnessed from this unhap-
py time.



21 M 1 S

